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**TRADITIONAL PLACES AND MODERNIST SPACES:  
REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY AND NORTHWESTERN LANDSCAPES  
OF POWER IN CANADA 1850 - 1990**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of  
Graduate Studies and Research  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Geography  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon

By

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**ABSTRACT:** Regions are the manifestation of ideology and power in the landscape. This study maintains that changes in the allocation and exercise of state power are reflected in Western Canada's regional geography at different time periods and that the ideology(ies) supporting this power is (are) actively advanced by the creation, maintenance, and continued existence of those regions. Traditional approaches to human geography neglect this socio-political aspect of region. To that end, alternate, contemporary approaches are applied. Aspects of critical social theory will illuminate the roles of both ideology and power and their crucial place in forming the human-built environment. Different places in different time periods will be analysed. These include: the territories of the Canadian North-West circa 1885; Alberta and Saskatchewan to provincehood, 1905; and the Inuvialuit Settlement Area, 1990.

**KEY WORDS:** region, post-modern, modern, power, landscape, Regional Geography.

## **DEDICATION**

For my mother, Luba.

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### **List of Abbreviations**

BP	Before Present
CARC	Canadian Arctic Resources Committee
CCF	Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
COPE	Committee for Original People's Entitlement
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railroad
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territory
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
IDC	Inuvialuit Development Corporation
IFA	Inuvialuit Final Agreement
IGC	Inuvialuit Game Council
IIC	Inuvialuit Investment Corporation
ILC	Inuvialuit Land Corporation
IRC	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
ISDP	Inuvialuit Social Development Programme
ISR	Inuvialuit Settlement Region
NWC	Northwest Company
N-WT	North-West Territories (post 1880)
NWT	Northwest Territories (post 1905)
YT	Yukon Territory

## Chapter One Introduction

### **1.1 Introduction: The purpose of the dissertation**

The purpose of this dissertation is to introduce a new, alternative approach to regional geography. Further, the role that political power had, and continues to have, in the formation, development and undermining of indigenous western Canadian places will be presented.

Relations between people, their groups and the natural environment are dynamic. One form of this dynamic relationship that has always concerned geographers is the region.

Geographers may view regions as a form of areal differentiation of the earth's surface. James (1972: 461-462), defined regions as

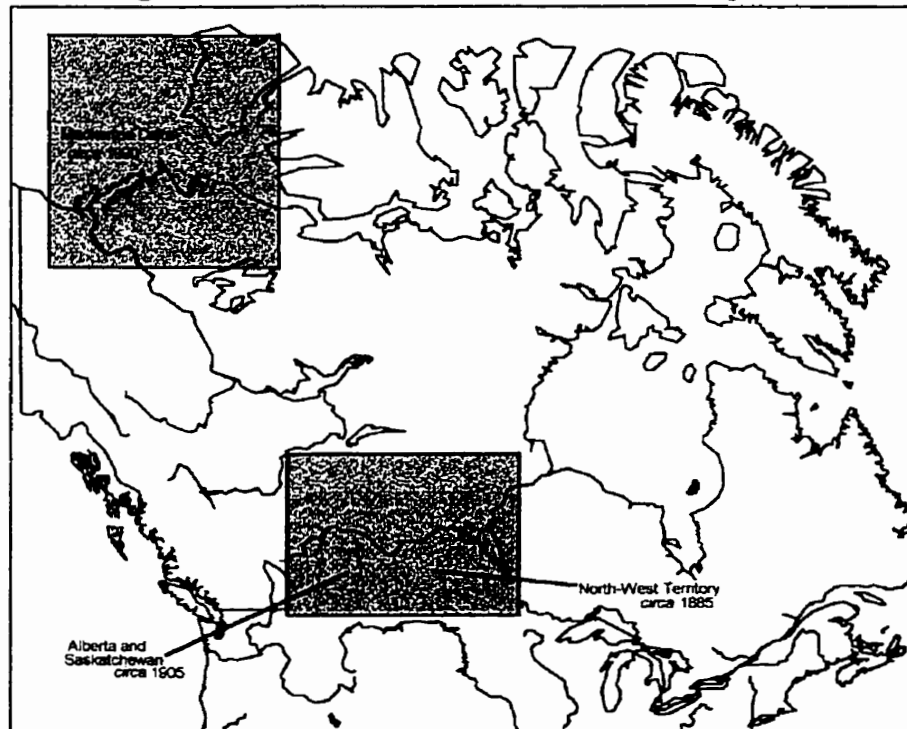
an area of any size throughout which there is some kind of homogeneity as specified by the criteria adopted to define it [ed. and] regional studies are those in which a variety of elements are examined in their mutual interdependence in some specific segment of earth space.

A more recent definition (Goodall 1987: 399) defines the concept as

any area of the earth's surface with distinct and internally consistent patterns of physical features or of human development which give it a meaningful unity and distinguish it from surrounding areas.

The focus of this study is western Canada, a region defined as the contemporary provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta as well as of the Inuvialuit Settlement Area of the Northwest Territories. My study excludes the Pacific Region of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory (Figure 1.1).

**Figure 1.1: Areas and Times of Study**



Relationships that exist between individuals and their political, economic, social and cultural institutions are shaped by relationships of power that result from the imposition or influence of a dominant, majority ideology. Regions are created, influenced and controlled through the existence of political power. An approach to regional geography formed through this view constitutes a viable, appropriate, perhaps even essential, approach to understanding contemporary regional issues. Furthermore, this dissertation will show that regional geography can be enriched through examining the role of political power in shaping interpersonal, intergroup and intercultural relations. With such emphases, this dissertation shows that the division of Canada has not been the simple result of democratic, political, economic and social will, nor merely of people living *in situ*, but has involved and continues to involve the exercise of political, economic and social *cum* cultural control. Regions are, in this context, the manifestation of the exercise of state power and the resistance to that power on both human and non-human landscapes.

### **1.1.1 Regions and Boundaries**

Dating from the late 1960s, geographers seem to have rediscovered the concept of region as one of value to their discipline (Farmer 1973; Tuan 1974; Lee 1985; Gregory 1985; Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991; Buttimer 1993). Geographers have examined new avenues to the investigation of regions. In the disciplinary literature and more recently, Internet discussion, concern and focus upon the concept of region abounds (Agnew and Duncan 1989; Gregory 1989 and 1994; Soja 1989; Thrift 1991; Johnston 1991b; Shields 1991; Wynn and Oke 1992; Harris 1992b; Righart 1993; Blomley 1994; Agnew, Livingstone and Rogers 1996; Schein 1997; Kostinskiy 1998; and Koerber 1998 to cite only a few). Discussion also focuses on the reinsertion of regional approaches in diverse subfields like economic and developmental geography, planning, and social geography (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991; Buttimer 1993).

Despite the newly found interest in regional geography, general agreement over what comprises a region has remained elusive. Ranging from discrete units of geographical space to sharply defined national or domestic territories, definitions are many. Within physical geography, definitions tend to the "natural", such as

watersheds. Within human geography, emphases have been on human uses, such as, linkages of socio-cultural characteristics.

As with regions, lines that delimit regions vary widely (Table 1.1). Boundaries are defined by Goodall (1987: 44-45) as:

A line demarcating recognized limits of established political units, such as states and administrative areas. The preferred definition, however, is as a vertical interface between state sovereignties where they intersect the surface of the earth.

The consideration of lines dividing states has become a contemporary issue of concern as witnessed by two recent conferences of the International Boundaries Research Unit on "Borderlands Under Stress" and "Permeable Boundaries and Borders in a Globalising World: New Opportunities or Old Problems?" (International Boundaries Research Unit 1998: 1999).

Boundaries can be delineated "on the ground", marked by fences, guard houses and inspection stations, each of which has a role in preventing the movement of things (and/or ideas) from one area to the next. They are, to a certain degree, impermeable. Other boundaries exist in an interpretive sense. They are permeable and do not block

## Table 1.1: Theories of Boundary Creation

TYPE OF BOUNDARY	DESCRIPTION	ADVANTAGES	EXAMPLES
Bioregion	Boundaries separate ecosystems	Unites ecosystems and habitats – promotes conservation	Iceland
Drainage basin	Boundaries separate drainage basins (watersheds) of rivers	Minimizes conflict over water	Italy Gambia
Topographic Unity	Boundary outlines consistent topography	Visibility	Norway Iran
Waterway	Follows main channel of river or other body of water	Visibility	USA-Canada (Great Lakes) Manchuria-Russia (Amur River)
Ridge	Boundary follows mountaintops	Visibility and relative stability	Chile Burma
Nation	Uniting people with common culture	Promotes social cohesion	Iceland Japan Vietnam
Religion	Uniting people of same religion	Promotes social cohesion	India Iran
History	Boundary placed where it used to be	Can be relatively stable	Israel
Military Frontier	Boundary includes a defensible perimeter	Animal territory provides biological precedent	China Paraguay
Spoils	Loser yields territory to victor	Resists military challenge	Tibet Palestine Puerto Rico
Settlement, Transport and distribution market pattern	Boundaries follow path of minimum population	Minimizes transport costs and frontier population – promotes statistical integrity	Costa Rica England Italy
Polygon	Boundaries follow straight lines between landmarks	Easy to draw and tends to minimize boundary length	Algeria Kuwait
Locus	Boundary established at chosen distance from geographic features (or equal distance from two features)	Easy to establish	Delaware (from New castle)
Rectangular Coordinates	Boundaries follow chosen meridians of longitude or latitude	Easy to establish in remote, unsettled areas	Egypt Wyoming Saskatchewan

Adapted from: *A Comparison of the Theories Behind Geographic Boundaries* ([www.rev.net/~aloe/bot](http://www.rev.net/~aloe/bot))

passage between sites. Ideas and commodities can move from one region to another.

The concept of boundaries, and therefore of region, used in this work emphasizes the dynamic nature of people's patterns on the land. Jordan and Rowntree (1982; Jordan-Bychkov and Domosh, 1999) define two types of regions termed "functional" and "formal". The first type refers to the organization of regions politically, economically or socially (Gateway Country; The South Eastern Alberta Tourist District or South Eastern Alberta Irrigation District, for example), in order to realize the utility of space. The second type considers the distribution of one or more cultural characteristics and the manifestations of these traits on the landscape (the Province of Quebec or the Territory of Nunavut, for example). Resulting from the second is a specific type of formal culture region called the vernacular. The vernacular is defined by Goodall (1987: 495) as;

A region perceived to exist by its inhabitants and other members of the population at large - hence also popular or perceptual region...the shared, spontaneous image of territorial reality.

Consequently, inhabitants of a vernacular region may see themselves as different from those who reside without. Boundaries around (and within) such regions are often



permeable and relatively easy to surmount even when formal demarcation occurs. As Robinson (1989: 14) has observed:

Although one accepts that regions exist, one should be aware that they are human, intellectual constructs. They exist only in the minds of persons who define, and accept, the criteria and characteristics of the region. Despite this limitation, many people have a "regional consciousness" which intuitively tells them that their local area differs in certain distinctive characteristics from those of nearby or far-off regions.

People come to understand and appreciate where their region ends and another begins. Through historic accident or action, language use, traditions, religion, employment or other impetuses to regionalism, topophilic feelings result and a region -- with an accompanying feeling of "placefulness" -- comes into being. The importance of the use of a vernacular definition of region is one that essentially renders the concept of region useful. A region can not exist without an appreciation of its existence. This recognition gives it a value. Regions become invested with value, with an observed worth by those who reside in them. This value results in the exercise of power.

### 1.1.2 Power

*Power becomes a lynchpin in a rejuvenated regional geography.* By emphasizing power relationships (and their landscape impact[s] and formative nature[s]), regional geography can offer a new, vibrant perspective that will enrich both geography and other associated social sciences.

Geographers have cited power as an appropriate conceptual means of addressing regional issues (McCann 1987; Wynn 1990; Blomley 1994). Power may be defined (Thatcher 1971: 667) as:

the capability of producing an effect...the right of governing or actual government; dominion; rule; authority...that which exercises authority or control...a sovereign or the sovereign authority of a state.

Goodall (1987: 372) states that "interest in power stems from the fact that the power of states is based, in part, on their geographical characteristics". Johnston et al. (1994: 469-470) add, power:

is often treated as a synonym for *influence*; which may be either direct (the power to do something) or indirect (the power over something). The concept may refer to the relationship between an individual (or group) and the natural world, but it is more frequently used to characterize interpersonal and intergroup relationships [and that] a major feature of the state's power is its territorial expression.

Power is how the ideology of the state influences local life, deals with resistance (Pile and Keith 1997) and places its stamp on the region. Power can therefore be seen as a set of relationships that shape, form and influence regions through state control of a territory. Further, it is argued that geographers, despite (or perhaps, due to) their eclectic approaches and methods, could create, through an emphasis on regional analysis, a new and deeper appreciation and understanding of the role that human actions and ideas maintain in shaping landscapes and regions or could focus on "the exploration of the channels through which authority was deployed, resisted and accepted" (Wynn 1990: 18). Such a restructured approach would not suffer from past oversights or misplaced emphases but would, instead, bring to the fore elements of the dynamism of place and would address issues that could reinvigorate regional geography by foregrounding important contemporary problems for, as Blomley (1994: 237) observes, landscape or region

is not simply the "set stage" upon which the human drama is acted-out...it is an active, formative part of the exploitation which occurs. To consider this as less is to reify the concept of landscape or region, relegate it to only peripheral interest in an exploration of the exercise of power within any national, regional,

or areal context. It is to create a "frozen geography".

Through examining power relations, it can be seen how sites are transformed to places. An approach emphasizing state power and the human landscape succeeds because of the state's control over its territory or region.

Power's place within the geographic milieu has been recently foregrounded by the inclusion of it as a formative element in the creation of boundaries and in its manner of affecting universal economic relationships. Concepts of political and economic sovereignty are those in which have focused the attention of researchers. Changes in "world systems", changes in communications and changes in the "culture of world trade" have all come to influence analysts. Newman (1998: 2), for example, cites the "dual impacts of globalization and cyberspace" as formative in the "end of the nation state and, by definition, the end of boundaries theses". Kohen (1998: 1) states "globalization, interdependence and integration are contemporary phenomena which supposedly render this traditional concept [ed. note: the notion of sovereignty] obsolete". Both analysts see the world as changing in the manner initially outlined in the 1970s by Wallerstein.

Wallerstein developed a "critique of the developmentalist perspective" (1979: 53) in which he designated as the 'world-system perspective'. This perspective;

is based on the assumption, explicitly or implicitly, that the modern world comprises a single capitalist world economy, which has emerged historically since the sixteenth century and which still exists today. It follows from such a premise that national states are not societies that have separate parallel histories, but parts of a whole reflecting that whole. To be sure, since different parts of the world play and have played differing roles in the capitalist world-economy, they have dramatically different internal socio-economic profiles and hence distinctive politics. But to understand the internal class contradictions and political struggles of a particular state, we must first situate it in the world-economy. We can then understand the ways in which various political and cultural thrusts may be efforts to alter or preserve a position within this world-economy which is to the advantage or disadvantage of particular groups located within a particular state (1979: 53).

Regionally, the world-system perspective can be interpreted as dividing the world into "core" or "heartland" and "peripheral" or "hinterland" areas which Wallerstein (1979: 97) described as;

those zones in which are concentrated high-profit, high-technology, high-wage diversified production (the core countries) from those in which are concentrated low-profit, low-technology, low-wage, less diversified production (the peripheral countries).

McCann adapted such an approach to Canada. In the work *Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada* (1987: 3-4) he states;

The notion of a metropolis or heartland holding sway over a vast resource hinterland is germane to a discussion of Canadian life and letters...But until the first edition of this book, published in 1982, geographers had not offered a comprehensive interpretation of Canada's regional geography from this particular perspective. Now, as before, there is considerable merit in using the heartland-hinterland approach. It accurately defines Canada's position in the world-system at large; it assigns geographical roles to the regions of Canada; it accounts for significant shaping forces of regional growth and development; and it focuses attention on the issues of regionalism - to cite several of its explanatory and interpretive advantages. Here, then, is ample justification for employing the heartland-hinterland approach to interpret Canada's regional geography. Not only have Canadian scholars long recognized the pervasiveness of the metropolitan influence over Canada's economy and society, and its role in the spatial ordering of the country's landscape, but the approach also readily lends itself to regional analysis (3-4).

The central question in this dissertation relates to how to apply "power" in regional geography but not a power inexorably tied to world-systems and emphases on capitalist "adjustments". Wallerstein has recognized that such a reliance on the paradigms of the past may undermine one's ability to explain the emerging condition of the contemporary world. As he has written:

the mass of the population is becoming profoundly anti-state. Thus, we see springing forth everywhere non-state "groups" who are assuming the role of protecting themselves and even of providing for their welfare. This is the path of global disorder down which we have been heading. It is a sign of the disintegration of the modern world-system, of capitalism as a civilization. The world is in transition. Out of chaos will come a new order, different from the one we now know. (1996, no page)

Just as the regional geography of this thesis does not rely too heavily on the world-system approach, it does not actively employ the heartland-hinterland thesis of McCann. Heartland-hinterland, by McCann's own admission, falls short of being able to explain the formation of regional loyalties in non-urban areas of Canada. In a later edition of the *Heartland and Hinterland* text (1999) he writes;

Regionalism based on social and cultural issues tends to be more strongly rural in origin, and in these circumstances, the protest can be directed as much against a regional city as it can against a national or international metropolis. Regionalism of this type suggests two possible consequences for interpreting the geography of Canada: the rural and urban components of a region are drawn together; or they are pushed apart (28-29).

Geographers can contribute to an understanding of Wallerstein's "chaotic" present by bringing attentive focus on regions and by focusing on the power (economic, cultural-social and political) that created those regions. Five examples of contemporary attempts to come-to-grips

with the manifestations of contemporary power on the landscape are; (1)ethno-political aspects of Slovene or Ukrainian independence movements (Hooson 1994), (2)the re-emergence of Western European nationalism (Dirven, Groenewegen and van Hoof 1993), (3)an individual's understanding of a tiny plot of land (Gayton 1990), (4)the farming and settlement patterns in a Kansan county (Least Heat Moon 1991), and (5)the modernistic, liberal-democratic, legal system of Canada (Blomley 1992). Clearly, what each shares is an emphasis on region and, as clearly, how power not only affects the delineation and continued existence of regions and places but is an element that actively advances the ideology(ies) of those who control it (Gibson and Gowens 1976).

In the Canadian context, the application of an understanding of past power relationships may illuminate many aspects of its regional historic development. Unfortunately, power, as an engine of regionalization and as a focal point of research, has rarely been used (Wynn 1990).



## 1.2 Method

The goal of this work is to use the concept of power to recreate past landscapes of Western Canada at three important times. Historic records (1881, 1885, 1891, 1905 *Census of Canada* data) are presented through a narrative approach in order to compare the peoples, places, patterns and processes (economic, political, and social) found in western Canada at three different times and under three different ideological constraints and/or influences. In those important times, state power divided the land and created new patterns of regional organization (through the issue of Metis land scrip, creation of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement). This dissertation stresses that these changes took place under three different paradigms, each of which represents one of three profound shifts in Canadian regional development; (1) the traditional to the early modern (1870-1885), (2) the early modern to fully developed modernity (1881-1905) and (3) the modern to the contemporary (1967-1990). To that end, three different periods (and three different landscapes) will be reconstructed, each as an individual time "slice" (after Norton 1984) to

illustrate the function of the exercise of state power and resulting changes to western Canadian landscapes.

One major means of conveying information about changes in boundaries, definitions (both formal/legal and informal/vernacular) of region and the reconstruction of landscapes of the past occurs by mapping salient spatial data. Given that an important goal of this work is to sketch the events leading to the systemic restructuring of the geographic terrain of western Canada, available census data (for the years 1881, 1885, 1891, 1901 and 1906) including the nominal cultural information (birthplaces and origins), economic (occupations, field crops), and demographic (sex ratios, marital status, age) data are examined and mapped. These will provide a view of both the operation and manifestation of state power on the milieu of each separate time "slice".

Different times and different places are examined in this dissertation. The reason is simple: they represent essential shifts in the exercise of power by Canadian authorities; hence, regional landscapes change. These times and regions are: (1) circa 1885, in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, (2) with the formation of the Provinces of

Saskatchewan and Alberta, *circa* 1905 and (3) *circa* 1990 in the Mackenzie River delta (see Figure 1.1).

#### **1.2.1: Manitoba and the North-West *circa* 1885**

Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, indigenous peoples held the power to control landscapes of western Canada. They had a well-articulated political landscape long before European impact and colonization (Dickason 1985a; Wilson 1986; Wright 1987; Moodie, Kaye, Lytwyn and Ray 1987). Nations that were not necessarily stable (or recognizable) by European standards existed and were delineated on the early Canadian landscape albeit in a North American fashion. By the late 1500s, these regions were changing because of European influences on their margins (Meinig 1986; Heidenreich and Galois 1987). European influences and their exercise of power began the process of rearranging the boundaries of western North American regions. Yet until 1867 such changes remained "informal" however, at the margins of western North America, especially in what would become the United States of America -- "formalization" would occur much earlier (Watson 1979; Meinig 1986; Zelinsky 1992). Diseases, horses, guns, trade, mercantile

incursions and missionary activities would all change the "places" of indigenous western peoples. Chapter Three, "Traditions Extinguished: The War on the West" traces these changes and delineates the changing nations/regions of a "pre-formal" nature.

The focus of Chapter Three is the impact of state power (emanating from Ottawa) on the Metis. It begins with the arrival of Canadian surveying parties (circa 1870), with the conflict generated by the formalization of boundaries, with direct Canadian political influences and with Metis frustrations in trying to establish a place(s) of their own. Ottawa used its military power to defeat the Metis and to impose a new order.

#### **1.2.2 The Imposition of Provincial Boundaries circa 1905**

From the arrival of the first surveyors along the 49th parallel in 1869, the west began to be formally integrated into Canadian political structure. The importance of imaginary lines would become paramount as regional patterns became determined more and more from outside the region, where the political power resided. Legal surveys would come to influence political, social and cultural patterns and relationships. Indigenous patterns,

long developed, would be buried under a cascade of legal determination, surveyor's rods, and parliamentary legislation emanating from eastern Canada. Chapter Four, "The Irrelevance of the Indigenous: the onset and triumph of modernism", will focus on mapping boundary and regional changes in the west through the areal expansion of the Canadian Land Survey, the routes of the arrival of surveyors, the diffusion patterns of squatters and early settlers, and the Canadian census (1871, 1881 and 1886). It will establish the determining nature of Canadian actions in the conflict that typified this region's early Canadian experience. Through the survey plats, census records, treaty negotiations, reserve selection and delineation, territorial establishment and granting of provincial status, this case study will show that an indigenously determined sense of place was actively and dramatically impeded -- even destroyed -- by Canadian actions (and inaction). By redrawing internal western Canadian boundaries, Canadians ensured their continuing power in and over the landscape.

Other overt aspects of state power were manifest on the North-West Territories' landscape during the years leading to provincehood. The creation of the North-West

Mounted Police force, construction of both the Canadian Pacific and other railways, telegraph lines and steamship routes, relocation of the territorial capital from Battleford to Regina, and the forcible re-location of Native bands were all aspects of the North-West Territories' Canadian "integration". While this thesis does not directly address all these issues, they too illustrate the profound impact that "modernization" had on the regions that predated Canada's imposition of provincial boundaries.

#### **1.2.3: The Inuvialuit Final Agreement circa 1990**

By the end of the first half of the twentieth century, Ottawa's attempts to integrate Canada's north into its economic orbit increased. By the early 1970s, local disaffection with Ottawa crystallized across the north. Questions of northern benefits from resource exploitation arose. Issues of political control over land and economic development were raised by Aboriginal leaders. A focal point emerged with the Berger Inquiry of 1975-76. As a result, northerners would add their voices to the past complaints of western Canadians. Northerners, primarily Dene and Inuit northerners, began to question their role in

the Canadian "project" and, more importantly, they demanded and won some measure of influence in the political, economic and social development of their homeland. The results of their discourse with the government of Canada may lead to a very different conclusion than that which occurred earlier in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The key resides in comprehensive land claim agreements and their impact on the political geography of this part of western Canada.

In 1984, the Federal Government of Canada and the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) signed the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA). The agreement marked both the end of a long process and, perhaps, the onset of new, different, more beneficial relations among Canadian peoples. Chapter Five, "Chinks in the Armour: Pipelines to Homelands", explores salient aspects of the agreement from the geographic foundation erected in earlier parts of this dissertation.

The IFA redressed many land claim (and treaty) issues that have traditionally been ignored (Usher, Tough and Galois 1992). While the IFA wrestles with many of the same issues and questions that arose in the 19th century western Canadian context crucial aspects set it apart from earlier

historic events. Ottawa sought a new solution to Native/Non-native relations through the IFA and other agreements (modern treaties) based on comprehensive land claims negotiations.

Relationships between the Inuvialuit and the Canadian (and Northwest Territories) government are made more complex by the nature of northern climates, physiography and culture, and the lack of previous treaties between Inuit peoples and the Canadian federal government. To that end, the IFA attempts to deal with the concept of sense of place.

Throughout the IFA, a tacit emphasis on economic developmental occurs. Ottawa believes that Inuvialuit culture will be enhanced and northern ecology will be "towed-along" by increasing individual incomes, expanding corporate revenues and generalized economic improvements (Saku 1996). The IFA advances solutions that integrate their sense of place with that of a more southerly perspective. Questions about power, raised in the other two regional experiences have relevance in this contemporary section.



### **1.3 Conclusion**

State power is clearly expressed in these three regional case studies. Within each, actions, theories and value systems held by Ottawa are imposed on each region at different times and in different ways. These power shifts have empowered some and deprived others of the ability to influence the development of local milieu, especially the pattern of land use. The regional geography applied here is one where the changing landscapes of western Canada are shown to illustrate both the power of the state exerted upon them and how the nature of that power has changed through time.

The development of a power-oriented regional geography has its roots in the decades-old debate within the literature of Geography and related disciplines. Chapter Two of this work focuses on the emergence of a new approach to regional geography, the intellectual roots of this approach and its newly-established emphases on historic context, majority-minority relationships and land settlement patterns. Chapters Three through Five, apply this approach to the concepts of place, space and power and to three seemingly disparate, isolated western Canadian situations. Thereby political, economic and social power

and its associated landscape manifestations will be clearly etched.

## Chapter Two Changes in Human Geography

Human geography has undergone many changes from its inception to the present (Wynn 1990). In this dissertation, the evolution of geography's methods, paradigms and viewpoints is examined and paradigmatic shifts<sup>1</sup> are identified (Table 2.1). The goal of this chapter is to highlight the pre-eminent positions, the dominance of sets of ideas, the methods and the world-views resulting from such paradigms. This review sets the stage for the use of the latest of these approaches to the regional geography of western Canada outlined in Chapter One.

Paradigms define a stable pattern of scholarly activity (Kuhn 1970). But it must be understood that dangers lurk in employing such a view (Komesaroff 1986; Agnew, Livingstone and Rodgers 1996). For example, a paradigm does not allow new ideas to easily gain acceptance. In short, the acceptance of new ideas leading to the emergence of a new paradigm occurs as a stutter-step rather than lock step into the future. To that end, there is little merit in steadfastly maintaining that one set of

**Table 2.1: Paradigmatic Shifts in Regional Geography**

	early example	height of paradigm	late example	Canadian example
<b>Chorographic Paradigm</b>	Herbertson, A.J. 1905 "The Major Natural Regions: An Essay in Systematic Geography"	Jones, W.L.G. 1914 "The Subdivision of North America into Natural Regions: A Preliminary Inquiry"	Whitlessy, D. 1929 "Sequent Occupance"	Taylor, Griffith 1947a Canada: A Study of Cold Continental Environments and Their Effect on British and French Settlement.
	Saville, E.C. 1911 Influences of Geographic Environment on the Basis of Ratzel's System of Arranged-geography  Huntington, E. 1924 The Character of Races as Influenced by Physical Environment	James, P.E. 1929 "The Blackstone Valley: A Study in Chorography in Southern New England"  Freeman, L. 1936 Ireland: A General and Regional Geography	Mehlig, D.W. 1968 The Great Columbia plain: A Historical Geography 1865-1910	Putnam D.F. and Putnam, R.G. 1970 Canada: A Regional Analysis  Robinson, J.L. 1995 Concepts and Themes in the Regional Geography of Canada
<b>Systematic/ Nomothetic Paradigm</b>	Sauer, C.O. 1925 "The Morphology of Landscape"	Bunge, W. 1962 Theoretical Geography	Harvey, D. 1973 Social Justice in the City	Jankunda, F. (ed.) 1972 Southern Alberta: A Regional Perspective
	Ackerman, E.A. 1945 "Geographic Training, Wartime Research and Immediate Professional Objectives"  Schaefer, P.K. 1953 "Exceptionalism in Geography: A Methodological Examination"	Harvey, D. 1969 Explanation in Geography  Abley, R.F., Adams, J.S. and Gould, P.R. 1971 Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World	Watson, W. 1979 The United States  Zelensky, W. 1980 The Cultural Geography of the United States: A Revised Edition	Wackentin, J. 1968 Canada: A Geographical Interpretation  McCann, L. (ed.) 1987 Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada
<b>Post-Modern Paradigm</b>	Ley, D. and Samuels, M. 1978 Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems  Soja, E.W. 1987 "The Postmodernization of Geography"	Folch-Serra, M. 1989 "Geography and Post-Modernism: Linking Humanism and Development Studies"  Ley, D. 1996 "Modernism, Post-modernism, and the Struggle for Place"		Gregory, D. 1992 "Epilogue"
	Entikien, J.N. 1989 "Place, Region, and Modernity"	Dirven, E., Oorenewegen, J. and Van Noof, S. (eds.) 1993. Stuck in the Region? Changing Scales for Regional Identity		Blomley, N.K. 1994 Law, Space and the Geographies of Power  Wackentin, J. 1997 Canada: A Regional Geography

ideas replaces another, logically, smoothly and progressively through time. In reality, one paradigm normally dominates academic thinking but other "paradigms" co-exist; each holds sway over small groups and individuals (see Johnston 1991a: 89-94). The idea of paradigmatic change is itself a creation of a particular approach (Buttimer 1993). It can be argued that such a means of analysis/inquiry leads to using a single, appropriate (i.e. status quo) means of viewing, appreciating and executing geography. To that end the 'paradigm' and all its 'ontological baggage' falls into one of the following "categories" or approaches (or world views) which have influenced geography over the last 50 years, the systematic/nomothetic.

Another danger of paradigms resides in their covert assumptions and values. For geographers, the acceptance of a model-based paradigm (the systematic/nomothetic) in the 1960s brought with it hidden assumptions and values for example Ley and Samuels (1978: 1-2) observed:

For all the hyperbole and behavioural excesses of the period [late 1960s], in short, only those most insensitive to the social and intellectual nuances of their own time and place could have lived through the 1960s and emerged without some profound doubts about the ethical base and efficacy of the goals, let alone the methods, of established authority and its supportive sciences.

Indeed, that the sciences, and especially the social sciences, either reinforced the status quo or else ignored the ethical debate surrounding the intellectual community in the name of neutrality, detachment, or objectivity seemed, at least to many, an admission of academic irrelevance, not to mention the height of hypocrisy.

A third danger is an inherent contradiction; that is, a paradigmatic shift implies that there is a subsequent, wrenching break with the past, leaving little of its previous influences. But does it? What if past ideas have some influence on the present? What if past, *passé* ideas continue to hold sway over many involved in the discipline? (See the examples and their dates of publication on Figure 2.1) What if past ideas change slightly and re-emerge in new, repackaged form? The paradigmatic view of philosophical, epistemological and methodological change does not consider these permutations. Is it at all relevant, or does it actively obfuscate more than it reveals of the ways and means of philosophy, epistemology and methodology? To that end paradigms may prevent clear analysis. One work, Agnew, Livingstone and Rodgers (1996) even prefers to use the idea of "conceptual clusters" rather than paradigms to describe intellectual change.

Canadian geographers from many of the discipline's sub-fields have clung to approaches that embrace the

regional as an appropriate unit of analysis (see Taylor 1947; Robinson 1956, 1969, 1973 and 1983; Watson 1962; Warkentin 1967 and 1997; Jankunis 1972; Richards 1981; McCann and Gunn 1998 among many others). But despite the position of regional geography within Canada there has been no lack of discussion focused on the dynamic nature of its epistemology and methodology (Harris 1971, 1978a, 1991; Wynn 1993; Folch-Serra 1994). What has resulted is a rather fecund field of geographic inquiry. One wherein the role of region and its concomitant landscape evidence (both relic and contemporary) forms the basis of geographical inquiry both within Canada and on a broader academic plane (Zelinsky 1980; Hart 1982; Meinig 1986; Wolch and Dear 1989; Johnson 1991b; Driver 1992; Earle 1992; Richardson 1992).

Just as paradigms of geography have changed, paradigms directing Canadian regional geography have been dynamic, too. This chapter considers three such paradigms (or "conceptual clusters") and examines their role in the shaping of regional geography within Canadian geography.

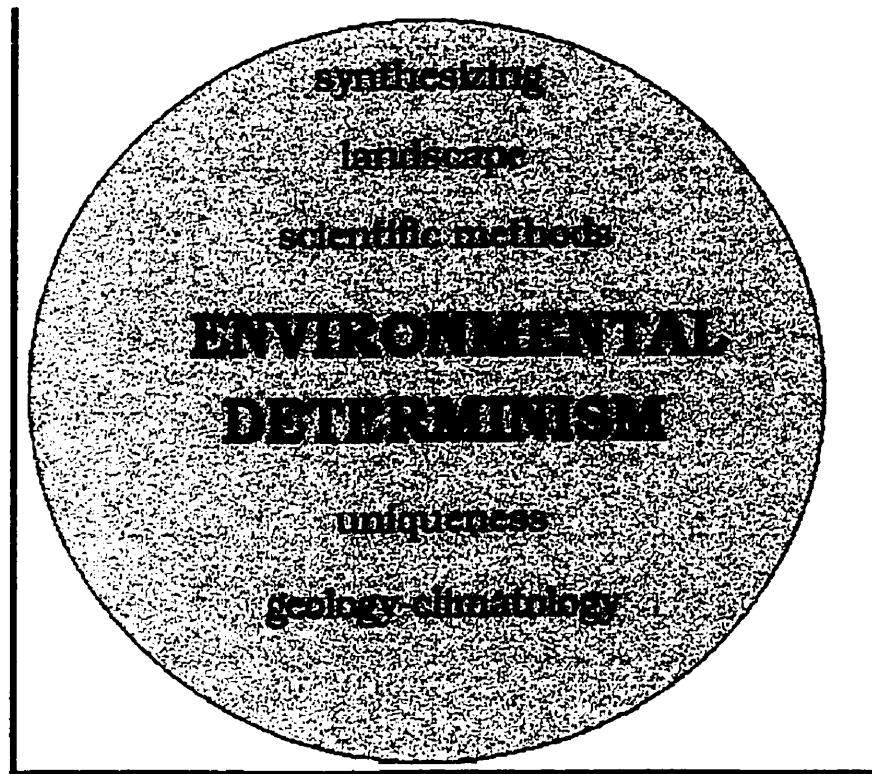
## 2.1 Chorographic Paradigms

Contemporary regional geography has emerged from a paradigm where regions and boundaries are determined by one or more physical factors. A classic example is Putnam and Putnam's *Canada: A Regional Analysis* (1970). Such an approach may be deemed "chorography", described by Hartshorne (1939) as "non-explanatory description, providing material for systematic geography" (93) (Figure 2.1). In this paradigm, regional geography begins with an itemized account of a regions' physical features and continues with discussion of the distributions and effects of weather systems, climate, zones of biota and the distribution of resources (Hartshorne 1939; James and Jones 1955; James 1972; Johnston 1991a; Livingstone 1992; Conzen, Rumney and Wynn 1993).

The physical environment becomes the stage upon which human events unfold. Within these physical regions, individual physical traits are treated as acetate overlays; each sheet or information layer is placed atop another to form an inventory of salient physical characteristics. Studies of this type are often termed "synthesizing" or "idiographic". Such an approach stresses the distinct or



**Figure 2.1: The Chorographic Paradigm**



unique natures of regional entities. "Strict" or extreme adherence to this paradigm may result in regional divisions that owe little or nothing to the activities of people. In short, these physical regions are static and their boundaries are determined by lines on maps representing physical factors such as isohyets, isotherms or any other such physical distribution (Putnam 1970). Such endeavours may be seen as the logical outgrowth of a naturalistic<sup>2</sup> approach, one that sees humans as merely one part of the

world's physiographic and ecological diversity. In such a view, human activities are shaped and even controlled by the physical environment. Such a philosophical position stems from an earlier paradigm where environmental determinism was dominant (see Huntington (1924); Taylor (1947a, 1947b) and Semple (1968)).

Regional geography emphasizing the chorographic paradigm uses distinct methods to outline unique aspects of place. At its original core resides environmental determinism, stemming from the overwhelming influence of a "naturalistic" perspective (Taylor 1947). While the role played by determinists in geography of the pre-World War Two era was an important one, the influence of the methods and explanations they advanced waned in the face of challenges posed by many who rejected the overwhelming influence of the non-human realm. A counter-paradigm, that of possibilism, arose (Robinson 1983). Within possibilism "the individual was presented as an active rather than a passive agent" (Johnston 1991a: 41). Further, it:

presented a model of people perceiving the range of alternative uses to which they could put an environment and selecting that which best fitted their cultural dispositions. Taken to extreme, this approach could be as ludicrous as that which it opposed, but in general the possibilists recognized the limits to action which environments set.

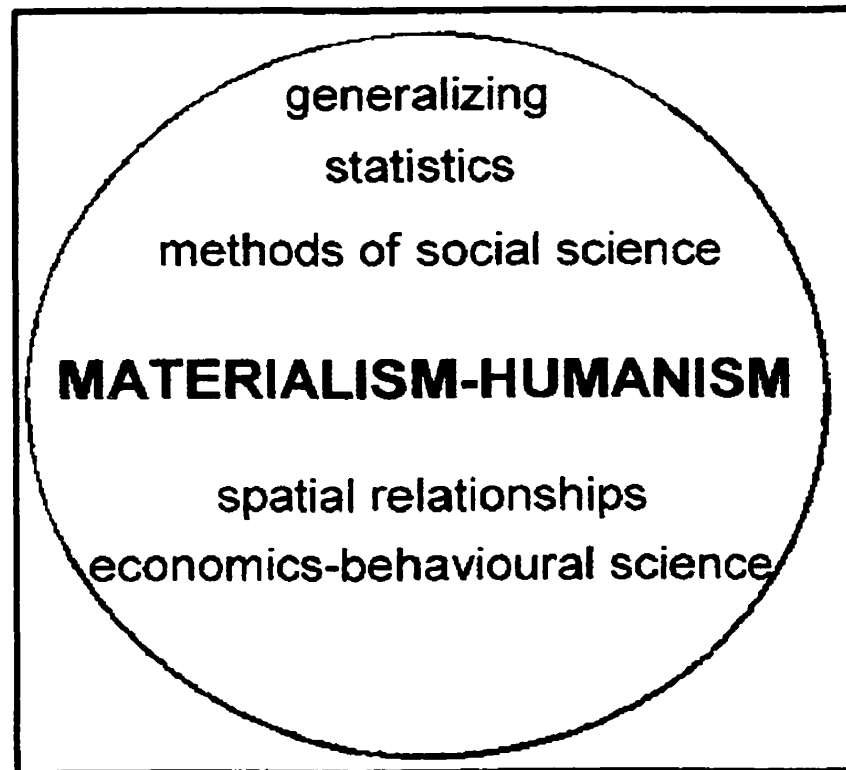
But the rise of harsh criticism directed toward environmental determinism and the development of newly articulated methods and approaches would herald a much more deeply seated and influential shift in the epistemology of geography. And so began the movement toward a "systematic/nomothetic" paradigm.

## **2.2 Systematic/Nomothetic Paradigms**

The systematic/nomothetic paradigm directing geography is an extremely broad-based category that includes many disparate epistemologies and methods (Folch-Serra 1989; Wynn 1990; Johnston 1991a). In the 1960s, the impetus for its "adoption" within geography came about primarily because of dissatisfaction with regional geography and a new found desire to search for laws, order and generalization. This change was heavily influenced by the quantitative revolution in geography (James and Jones 1954), and was seen as a means of overcoming "the arrant environmentalism of an embarrassing past" (Soja 1987; 167). It also reflected the attractions of newer, fresh approaches already popular in other social sciences. This "improved" geography would become one which

"operationalized" studies of a seemingly more dynamic nature (Figure 2.2). Critics of the chorographic paradigm found it antithetical to the adoption of "new" scientific techniques and views within the discipline. It would be the 1950s and 1960s, with the merging of quantitative methods and positivism, when the real fruits of this new paradigm began to be harvested. With growing familiarity and use of quantitative methods

**Figure 2.2 The Systematic/Nomothetic Paradigm**



within geography came a closer relationship between geography and positivism<sup>3</sup>. While it could be argued that regional geographers did not embrace positivism with open arms (Johnston 1991a: 89-94 or see, for example, Houston 1978; Western 1978), the paradigm shift moved geography from a synthesizing discipline to one more concerned with positivistic generalization (Bunge 1962; Harvey 1969). Geography then entered a time of borrowing. Methods from many natural and social sciences were appropriated (Johnston 1991a); from mathematics and physics came means of modeling; from economics and demography modernization and development theories; sociology and psychology contributed behaviouralist perspectives. New ways of doing science and, as importantly, *new ways of thinking* about doing science became accepted as mainstream and paradigmatically dominant.

Positivism, usually associated simply with the rise of quantitative methods (Ley and Samuels 1978), also represented a change that must be seen as much more important and influential<sup>4</sup> than were it merely a new methodological emphasis. This change is the adoption of the meta-theoretical approach (Soja 1989). The search for universal generalizations runs throughout the

systematic/nomothetic paradigm and influences both Marxist and apologist; both historian and developmental theorist; both behaviouralist and "contemporary" humanist alike. The search for order in human behaviour, the search for rules of international economic issues, the search for patterns not controlled by spatial variation (merely "influenced" by temporal) would dove-tail with the ways and means being borrowed from the "hard sciences". Geographers searched for the perfect isotropic plane, held behaviours constant, factored out anomalies and strived to create the perfect, ubiquitous field of knowledge, all in the name of meta-theory or meta-explanation. Thus, the search for universal rules of human behaviour was joined by geographers who were empowered by quantifying methods and the "meta-theory" project common to social sciences in the post Second World War era. The implications for synthesizing, idiographic regional studies are obvious: they were abandoned, dropped and ridiculed.

While systematic/nomothetic approaches to regional geography dominated the subdiscipline from the late 1950s, there persisted a significant discourse among its proponents and those who applied a more traditional paradigm (the few who remained). Issues raised by the

ongoing debates focused on advocacy, idealism, behaviouralism, liberalism and their consequent methodologies. Questions began to emerge that became problematic for the systematic/nomothetic paradigm; they undermined its foundation and served to focus underlying dissatisfaction. By the late 1960s, this debate began to erode earlier confidence in the methods and means of the new paradigm. This early criticism of the approach came from a relatively benign group; cultural, historical and regional geographers<sup>5</sup>.

Within this small circle of geographers, especially among those who saw geography's *raison d'être* as the analysis of differences between places, the keepers of the chorographic tradition, this debate opened chinks in the epistemological armour of positivism, that is the so-called objectivity of positivism.

The subjective/objective debate became the crux of further, deeper criticism of the systematic/nomothetic paradigm in geography (Clark 1959; Sauer 1963; Meinig 1978; Jackson 1984). Among cultural, historical and regional geographers a long tradition of integration with other disciplines had eschewed many aspects of the quantifying and positivist "bandwagons". Along with many like-minded

scholars, they pursued a path of inquiry more like that being practised in the humanities (Glacken 1967; Tuan 1974; Harris 1978b; Jackson 1979 for example). Within geography, early criticism of the quantifying, positivist school originated with those whose non-geographic linkages were tied to the traditional humanities (Ley and Samuels 1979; Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991; Buttimer 1993).

To these "humanists", the goal of geography is to understand place, situations or individuals *in situ*, in their individual contexts<sup>6</sup> (Clark 1959; Gibson and Gowans 1976; Zelinsky 1980; Gregory 1992; Buttimer 1993). Therefore, many links had remained solid between contemporary geographers and the chorographic ways and means of undertaking regional geography. The past had not been completely abandoned (Guelke 1977; Hart 1982; Steel 1982).

Yet another challenge to positivism arose. Questions began to focus on the 'detached' nature of systematic/nomothetic geography, that its lack of commitment to solving complex social problems confronting contemporary society was a major drawback to the field. Many geographers sought a more equitable world. They turned to other disciplines for the theories and methods to help



them in their "wars" on poverty, disease, racism and illiteracy. Their search took many geographers to the works of Karl Marx, other socialist thinkers, anarchists and a general field of inquiry or analysis termed "advocacy" (Peet 1978). Thoughts and theories from these schools became part of the geographical approach (often via the pages of the Journal of Radical Geography, *Antipode*). Through the 1970s and early 1980s, the groundswell of criticism of the ways and means of mainstream geography grew. By the end of the 1970s many works were appearing, openly critical of positivism, of quantification and of evolutionary development and western concepts of demography (Dos Santos 1970; Eliot Hurst 1972; Wallerstein 1979; Frank 1981). Geographers questioned the ontology (and the morality) of modern geography. Within the systematic/nomothetic paradigm, objectivity and apologist epistemologies protective of the *status quo* became unacceptable to many. In short, geography as it existed, was too insulated from the real world and its social problems.

The search for alternatives began (Harvey, 1973; Peet, 1978). The incorporation of broad elements from critical social theory and hermeneutics into geography signaled the

end of unquestioning acceptance of the systematic/nomothetic paradigm. Enabled, even empowered by innovative thinking, geographers became a part of the project that led to 'post-modernism'.

The impact of the changes brought about by the systematic/nomothetic perspective may be seen in the residue of a great variety of approaches, theories and techniques commonly found in regional geography. But the overwhelming search for generalization; a generalization steeped in historicism (Soja 1989) has fostered (both within geography and perhaps even more influentially, without) dissatisfaction with the paradigm. Given the plethora of "geographies" practised within the systematic/nomothetic, it should come as no surprise that these are replicated in a complex, even contradictory, methodological approach within geography. Methods range from idealist, "historical mind" approaches to adapted Marxist/conflict perspectives to logical positivism (Johnston 1991a, 1991b; Wynn 1990, 1993; Norton 1984; Rowntree 1987, 1988; Barnes and Duncan 1992). At present, many of these remain important within contemporary geography. Taken together they form the *status quo* and provide a "satisfactory" mainstream manner of doing

geography; the tried and true ways and means of any and all of the explanations, observations and predictive sciences.

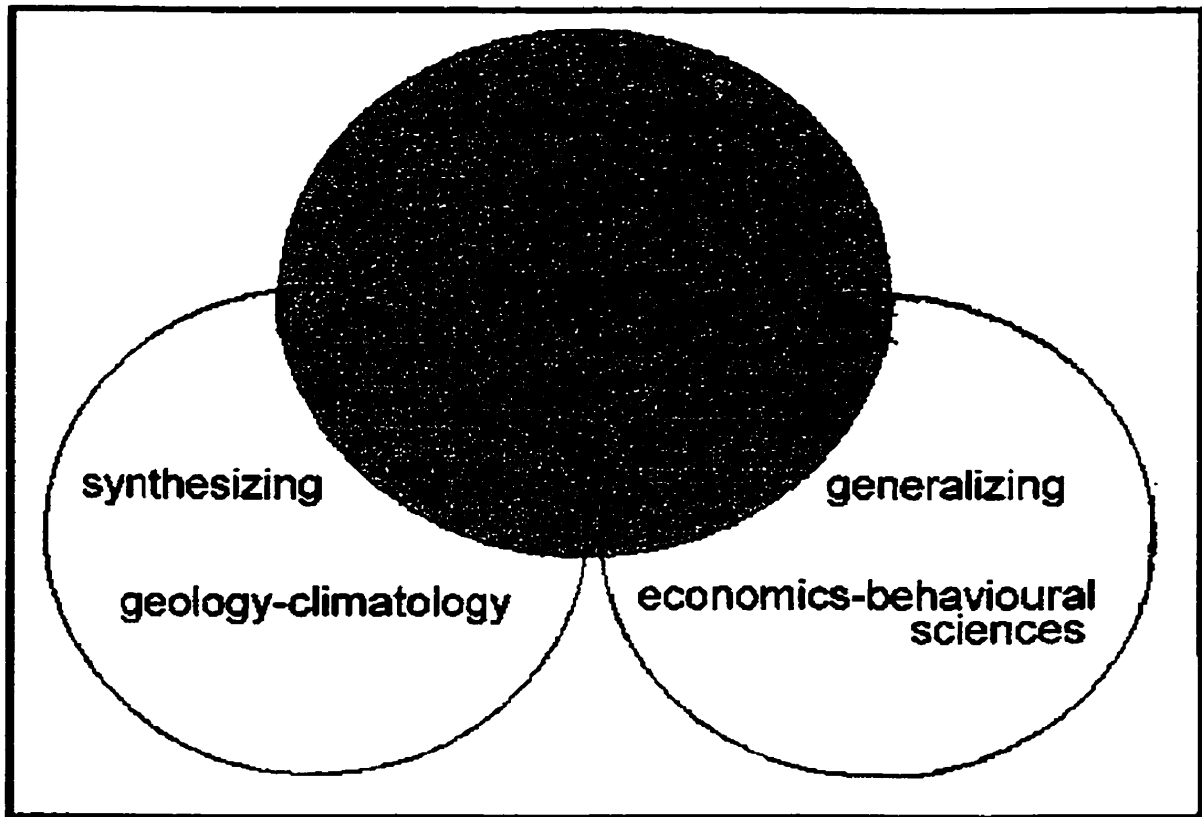
### **2.3 Post-modern Paradigms**

Geographers have developed a new, fresh, alternate approach to the study of the region (Figure 2.3). This approach is built on a foundation laid by many critical theorists (Foucault 1978; Derrida 1978; Habermas 1979, 1987; Giddens 1984, 1985<sup>8</sup>; Jary and Jary 1991). Critical theory is a complex set of ideas designed to 'interpret' history. According to Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1986: 81) it is

a tradition of social and political thought whose central concern is the *historicity* of social action: in particular, the connections between human agency and social structure which exist under capitalism and which can be recognized (and this is vital) *restructured* through a process of *self-reflection*

Within its geographic manifestations, critical analyses are most closely related to a Marxist base. Yet, such geographers often eschew much of the structural Marxist dogma that many have found to be debilitating to the incorporation and exploration of specific geographic ideas

**Figure 2.3: The Postmodern Paradigm**



(Relph 1991; Entriken 1989,1991; Harris 1991). Often, a major goal of these new studies has been to recreate urban contexts through de-constructions and, ultimately, re-constructions of past, present, and even future, landscapes. Incorporated into analysis are new found sensitivities for the dynamism of power and its manifestations in social class development, capital acquisition and movement, and ultimate expression of these on both the human and physical landscapes. Analyses focus on region as a vessel for these manifestations (see Chapter

One: Sections 1.1.1 Region and 1.1.2 Ideology and Power, page 5) .

Geographers (Agnew 1989; Soja 1989; Entriken 1991; Shields 1991; Pickles and Weiner 1991; Pile and Keith 1997) have employed the major tenets of critical social theory, steeped in a Marxist interpretation of human social existence. Yet, they attempt to maintain a sense of geography through their emphasis on place, space, region or locality. Political geographers, Neo-Marxists or those using realist perspectives have broken new ground in their efforts to re-invigorate geography. Through a new found or re-established appreciation of region, they have brought contemporary theory to bear on situations, peoples, and relationships. Their studies are undertaken with a detailed, careful "eye" to structures and institutions and influences on the everyday lives of people in ordinary, everyday circumstances. By doing this they have brought new methods, ideas and techniques to the field. Their work, however, is criticized by others of a more humanist post-modern perspective (Buttimer 1993; Gregory 1994) who demand and exercise a more considered and attentive role for human agency in the existence, formation and perception of region.

Emphasis on human agency has long been formative within disciplines that make detailed use of the hermeneutic approach. The humanist stream of geography has endeavoured to appreciate and understand human behaviour rather than to predict and generalize social "laws". To that end *verstehen* has been a guiding principle within humanist geography (Buttimer 1993). Such an emphasis has obviously led them to emphasize the role of individuals (agents) within their studies (Ley 1989; Sayer 1989; Murphy 1991; Harris 1992a; Clayton 1992). But just as contemporary political economy has "softened" in its emphasis on economic determinism and rejection of human agency, so have humanists become more cognizant of the role of human institutions and structures in regulating the behaviour of individuals. They have become more aware of the influences that structures have on people's lives. A middle ground is being colonized where both structure and agency fulfil aspects of being formative of human behaviours and conditions.

Necessities for a reconstructed regional geography include: a widening of the scope of chorographic regional geography (to include elements of social class, conflict, resistance, sociological theory and, most importantly,

power) and a finer focus on some aspects of the systematic/nomothetic approach. This dissertation seeks to add to that literature, specifically in the Canadian context. The author's work incorporates aspects of both the chorographic and systematic/nomothetic appreciations of region but it highlights the manifestations of power as agent of regional creation, maintenance and development. By examining regional change in western Canada, the roles of space and place can be seen both as symptomatic of Canadian emphases and as the results of needs, wants and perceptions of local inhabitants.

#### **2.4 Conclusion: Canadian Regional Geography**

This thesis will explore the regional geographies of western Canada by focusing on state power (as defined in Chapter One) and its manifestation on the landscape. It will apply a new form of regional geography, one that makes use of the contemporary paradigm outlined above and emphasizes the creation of boundaries and formal political (legitimate) divisions and their impact on the everyday lives of people within the region. This dissertation, through the use of narrative method and through the re-

construction and the recreation (through a modified time-slice technique) of past geographies, will add to the literature concerning the regional and the geographic development of Canada's west. Further, this work will address Wynn's (1990) plea for geography more concerned with issues of power.

Both the academic approaches to Canadian regional geography and the political, social, and cultural regions of the country are more dynamic and exciting than they have ever been. Among geographers, bureaucrats, politicians and activists of all sorts, a new fascination with place has come into being. Place is not merely seen as an afterthought to economic, social, psychological, geological, or climatological regional "science", but as a part of a regional geography which stands alone, justified through new, fresh theory and conceptualized through new, methodologies. Place puts the concept of region more securely at the core of the discipline (for example see Johnson, Hauer and Hoekveld 1990; Schein 1997).

Regional geography of Canada has undergone a great deal of change. While a number of attempts at creating both formal and informal landscapes within regions have been tried, Canadian regions based on a minority perspective are



rare<sup>9</sup>. Regional geographers have emphasized the control, application, and direction of political, military, and economic power over the region and its inhabitants. The result is an imposed set of land uses, tenures and patterns, for example, freehold to communes and trap lines to Crown Reserves. To understand the development of these regions, it is essential to recreate the situations and the context of the exercise of power not only in the past but presently. Canada, along with many other countries, seems to be experiencing the birthing and growing pains resulting from a plethora of existing and emerging regional identities and demands (Hooson 1994). The key to coping with this premise resides in understanding the seminal role of power in the landscape.

In this work, the approach stresses the use of state power on boundary and land ownership demarcation, land use patterns, context and the rise of topophilic emotions than has been applied before (Nicholson 1979; Nicholson, Galois and Stavely 1990). This work illustrates the role that power occupies in shaping regional landscapes. To do this, the author examines power relations (both past and contemporary). Then, the author applies aspects of critical theory including ethnicity and minority economic

and political relations, questions of human agency, and the role of community and place to three chronologically disparate situations. Such an approach shows the capacity that a regional geography, focused on power, has to contribute to a understanding of the role that region plays in the human experience.

In western Canada of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, Metis relationships with incoming Europeans illustrates the situation of minority groups and their access to power both economically and politically. Through the imposition of the land survey, scrip issuance and the western diaspora, Metis places came to be undermined. Power was exerted from without and landscapes were remade. The siege of their historic place in North America was and remains formative of contemporary indigenous minority relations with the Canadian majority.

By the end of the 1800s, power relations between Ottawa and peoples of the Canadian west had changed so that political, economic and social power relationships focusing on the control and allocation of resources came to the forefront. The changing face of the west's population reveals changing attitudes and actions towards land and its value. While ethnic and minority relations continued to be

an important part of western Canada's geography, more influential in the formation and continuation of regional entities, was the imposition of geometric boundaries on the land and the regions that were created. These would indelibly mark the role that community and place would have on the 20<sup>th</sup> Century west.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Aboriginal Rights raise the specter of deteriorating relations between minority and majority groups within the country. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) was launched in an attempt to define the rights and redress some of these issues. As a focal point for aspects of land control, husbandry and management, the IFA represents a potential (if not an accomplishment) for changing the manner in which power relationships between marginalized and mainstream peoples are conducted. The IFA may be a watershed in the appreciation and role that region may play in the Canadian experience.

This work's narrative approach is sensitive to regional context, to historical sequence, and to the role of place. It is also sensitive to the creation (and recreation) of regions and cultural landscapes. The approach avoids the excesses of both the chorographic (and its tacit emphasis on environmental determinism and

naturalism) and systematic/nomothetic (and its emphasis on metatheory and the negation of human agency) approaches to regional geography.

This work's version of regional geography appreciates the role of individuals and their place. Through appreciating people living and developing within an emerging and maturing social, political and economic structure, much can be contributed to understanding the tensions and strains of contemporary Canada. With foci of minority relations to power during the Metis epoch (circa 1875), land ownership and settlement patterns in the Territorial, pre-provincial phase (to 1905) and on the reclamation of place undertaken through the IFA (circa 2000), the regional approach used here begins the process of re-capturing the central ground that regional geography should occupy in the discipline of geography. It shows that a revitalized regional geography's contributions to contemporary and future decision-making and questions of self-determination demand that the "region", as both means of analysis and manner of approach, be examined, especially in the context of a politically, socially, and economically challenged nation (and world). The situation of the west circa 1880, 1885, 1905 and 1990 ably and effectively

illustrate the application of power on the landscape and the subsequent regions that result.

## 2.5 Notes

1. An effective discussion of the nature of "paradigm" and its inefficiency in chronicling changes in ideology and methodology appears in Agnew, Livingstone and Rodgers (1996) wherein the authors conclude that the concept may be replaced by the idea of "conceptual clusters".

2. Naturalism is the philosophy that underlies the implicit links between the natural and social sciences. It implies that there are laws of the natural world; laws that exist above and beyond, apart from humans and their social organizations, yet are formative of those same organizations. They are, in essence, waiting to be discovered by the scientist. These laws formed the foundations of the environmental determinist view and may be seen to apply to all human situations, through all time periods, in any context. Therefore, it is entirely appropriate that scientists concerned with the human condition appropriate the methods and epistemology of the natural sciences in their investigations.

3. Especially important are aspects of historicism and a newfound emphasis on space. Modernism implies an emphasis on the former; postmodernism, it is theorized, emphasizes the latter. Social scientists have "discovered" that place (or space) plays a role in the human condition. From other disciplines, notably sociology and the works of A. Giddens, influences are being felt in geography. These influences may result in the firm place of space in critical social theory. The works of Lefebvre, Foucault and Giddens are cited as formative of this view throughout the work of Harvey (1989), Soja (1989), Folch-Serra (1989), Johnston (1989 and 1991a) and Shields (1991).

4. Examples of this "benign" group would include Guelke (1977); a historical geographer; Ley and Samuels (1978) contains articles by the following cultural geographers: Buttimer, Tuan and Houston and the following historical geographers: Gibson, R.C. Harris and Samuels.

5. The goal of such studies is often encapsulated by the German word *verstehen*, which is often taken to mean a detailed, empathetic understanding of the actions of individuals. With such an understanding the fundamental

goal of "science", gone is the need to hypothesize, generalize and predict human behaviour. It fuels a truly "humanist" science; one of understanding and appreciation.

6. Within academic geography, the schism between "social" and "cultural" geography illustrates the overall division with those concerned with the human experience/condition. Social geographers undertake their research and make conclusions closely related to the social sciences; means, methods and conclusions often resemble those of economics, sociology and psychology. On the other hand, human geographers use anthropology, history and literature. Examples of this may be seen from the schedules of any major geography conference (American Association of Geographers, Atlanta, 1993 or Canadian Association of Geographers, Kingston, 1992). Topics, methods and approaches may be seen to fall into the categories mentioned. Social geographers have been more prone to quantifying techniques; therefore, it may be argued, they have had a more highly regarded place within geography during the ascendancy and domination of logical positivism. Interestingly, much the same sort of schism exists within anthropology where physical and cultural anthropologists co-exist (although many of the former call themselves archaeologists; an even more complex division) and in sociology with the dominance of quantifying methods and its linked philosophy.

7. Within geography there seems to have been a number of such urban-based studies including Soja (1989), Harvey (1989) and Shields (1991); yet, a dearth of those from this perspective is concerned with rural (or at least non-urban) situations. Within sociology, the field of "rural sociology" seems a logical repository for an approach that would better enable the study of non-urban, contemporary situations. However, it seems that this field has been retarded by a past emphasis, and its co-option, on works undertaken under the rubric of "community studies" that were really nothing more than the articulation and goals of American foreign policy. Among sociologists of a "critical" perspective, such studies were suspect and viewed as merely apologist of the status quo (Gertler, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, personal communications, March 30, 1993). Hence, the field of rural sociology has remained rather marginal and underdeveloped concerning critical analysis.

8. The works of these four critical theorists have been cited by geographers as key in appreciating the role that a post-modern approach may play in regional geography. Notable are the references to Giddens in Smith 1984; Baker and Gregory 1984; Pudup 1988; Gregory 1989b and Sayer 1989 where aspects of structuration theory, time-space distanciation and issues of structure and agency are discussed. Habermas' critical social science through empirical-analytical inquiry, hermeneutic inquiry and critical and emancipatory forms of knowledge play a role in the works of Driver 1982; Smith 1984; Folch-Serra 1989 and Thrift 1991. Foucault's work on post-structuralism, the linkages of knowledge and control and social power are in evidence in Driver 1992. Finally, the de-construction of Derrida is prominent in Soja 1987, 1989 and Entriken 1991. Each of these analysts has contributed in a different and often mutually contentious manner towards a deeper appreciation of regional elements.

Perhaps because of the contentiousness mentioned above, or perhaps because of the different needs and ends of the geographer's craft, a division seems to have been emerging within postmodern geography. Harvey (1989) and Harris (1989), among others, maintain that the contemporary, eclectic, relativistic interests of current research and investigation merely serves the present-day capitalistic *status quo*; specifically that post-modern theory and methods associated with it are inherently reactionary, shallow, materially excessive and apologist. They simply obfuscate the ongoing adaptation and utter dominance of the capitalistic "system". They maintain that Marxist-based explanation *cum* scientific discourse should continue to hold centre stage in any critical theory. Others have considered their challenges and responded with adaptations (Thrift, 1991).

9. There are many examples of failed "colonies" and regions in the history of western Canada. These range from utopian communities of the Saskatchewan Doukhobors to religious communes on the Pacific Coast; Jewish enclaves in the grasslands to elitist "clubs" in Southeastern Saskatchewan. Many were informal but examples of other formalized attempts a region building exist, too. The original Postage-stamp Province of Manitoba, Keewatin and all the Provisional Districts of the North-West attest to the



social experimentation and engineering that typified the Canadian early western experience.

The literature of political history and popular culture of the west abounds with tales of the dissatisfaction that has led to the founding of new, populist political parties (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation to Reform), political reform (Triple "E" senate), marches on Ottawa, new forms of regional theatre (exemplified by *Paper Wheat* among others), expression in the fine arts and even styles of playing hockey (the rough and rugged Saskatchewan style). See the work of (Fowkes 1957; Gray 1966; Careless 1969; Elton 1970; Morton 1973; Westfall 1980; Marchak 1980; Melnyk 1981; Steiner 1983)

**Chapter Three**  
**Metis Traditions Extinguished: The War on the West 1869-1885**

**3.1 Introduction**

Western areas of Canada went through dramatic changes during the latter part of the 19th century. While the first scenes of this drama had begun 300 years before in more eastern regions of Canada, the impact of the Canadian "purchase" of Rupert's Land and the subsequent populating of the west by peoples of European descent began two processes: (1) the irreversible process of incorporating western Canada into a Canadian (British) cultural and economic realm and (2) the marginalization of both Indian and Metis<sup>1</sup> communities. Both would be irreversibly disrupted<sup>2</sup> by this power shift. The focus of this chapter is the Metis. Two questions are raised: (1) How and why Metis land occupance and use changed? (2) How these changes both reflected and advanced distinct patterns and attitudes toward particular locations (places).

A revitalised regional approach that highlights the struggle of the Metis over imposed land ownership, tenure

and division is one that brings focus to the power relationship between minority and majority groups. The Metis were displaced from their traditional places through the power exercised by the newly formed Dominion of Canada. Canadian power redrew boundaries at the local (land surveys and scrip issuance), national (Manitoba and the North-West Territories creation) and international (the purchase of the HBC and adoption of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel) levels. This power to order the political organization of the region affected the Metis, ultimately influencing them to move further west. Through narrative based on the Metis perspective and through attention to the formative nature of the Canadian political agenda, an analysis framed within regional geography can illuminate the relationships between the Metis and state power exercised by Ottawa.

Metis people may have been on North America's plains for almost two centuries<sup>3</sup> but their sense of nationhood emerged in the Red River Colony some fifty years before Canadian Confederation. In the western interior of North America, in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, they had been mainly associated with mercantile trading companies and had lived lifestyles linked to the fur trade. Eventually two corporations came to dominate the industry of the northern

plains: the Northwest Company (NWC) and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)<sup>4</sup>. These two companies, more than any others, influenced the lifeways of the Metis but as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century, changes that heralded the waning of the competitive fur trade and the ascendancy of agriculture began to force a more sedentary lifestyle upon the Metis, one that would be adopted by some Metis but rejected by others<sup>5</sup>. With buffalo herds dwindling and a consciousness arising regarding the ways and means of Canadian land control and ownership, many Metis adopted a manner of living that was more in-tune with that of the new immigrants. But others, perhaps more cognisant or personally affected by contemporary events, would leave the traditional hearth area of Red River. These *hivernant* resettled along the North and South Saskatchewan River and elsewhere. Beyond the orbit of Canada, they enjoyed the seasonality of the open prairie. By the late 1870s and the 1880s, this "life of the *hivernant*" would occupy a new, more central role in the Metis experience. But by then permanent settlements of Metis were found at St. Laurent, Prince Albert, Batoche, Fort Edmonton and the Cypress Hills<sup>6</sup>. People lived there not only as itinerant farmers *cum* buffalo hunters, but they farmed, carted, hunted and collected

bones. Gone was the specific lifestyle of the annual buffalo hunt, of the Red River's spring freshet and of the specific nature of the eastern edge of the prairie. They had moved west and adapted their lives to changes that were becoming more influential.

The study of land in both the Canadian and Metis contexts can furnish much more than a catalogue of available resources and sketches of land use patterns. The ownership of land represents a social-economic construct. Ownership both reflects particular land uses, hence specific ideologies, and actively advances ideology<sup>8</sup>. Through exploring the Metis relationship to land, to the places they occupied, and the manner in which they departed these same lands, the true (yet covert) nature of Canada's western project may be seen. In the words of R.C. Harris (1992a: 67) and in the context of 19th century Canada:

the land system itself became the most powerful single agent of disciplinary power. It defined where people could and could not go as well as their rights to land use, and it backed these rights, as need be, with sovereign power.

In the western regions of Canada "sovereign power" was applied in more than one manner; yet, its application seems to carry the intent of disabling one manner of living and

replacing that with one that was deemed more appropriate, profitable, civilized and modern.

### **3.2 Towards A Metis Nation**

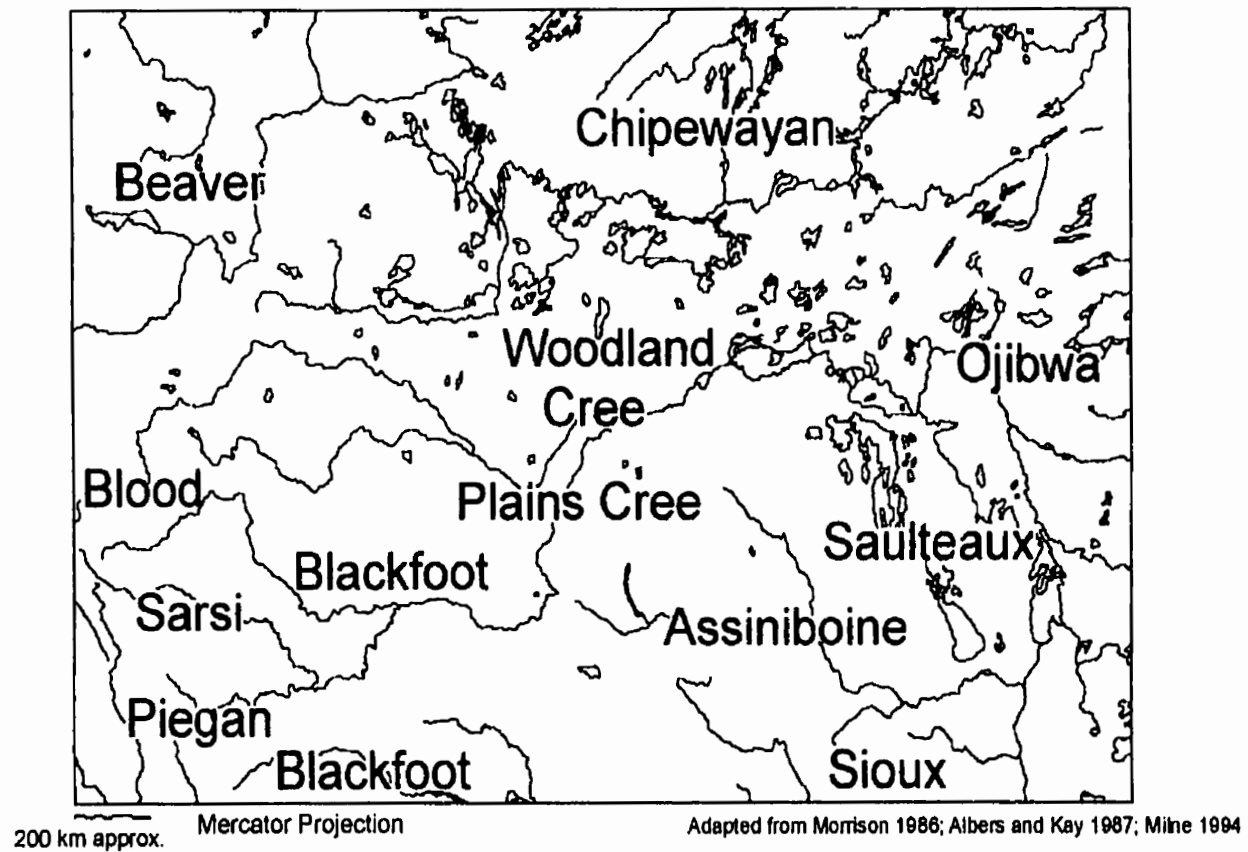
Indians and Metis who have lived in western Canada for a long period of time were forced to cope with changing climates and shifts in environmental situations. Clearly Indian and Metis cultures in this locale were dynamic<sup>9</sup>. Cultural and territorial changes were, of course, the result of many different forces.<sup>10</sup> Yet at particular periods distinct groups inhabited specific areas of Canada's west (Wright 1987). There were prehistoric North American nations, although their exact locations cannot be established (Russell and Meyer 1999: 20) with any confidence<sup>11</sup>. People have inhabited the Canadian Plains since the retreat of the Wisconsin Glaciation some 11,000 Before Present (BP). From about 10,000, BP bison-hunting societies left records of their activities (for example at Head-Smashed-in-Buffalo-Jump and at Oxbow). Dating to about 2700, BP at least three separate cultural types existed; Plains Archaic, Plains Woodland (1000 BP), and Plains Village (circa 250 BP). While each left an archaeological record,

the extent of their territoriality is unknown (Dickason 1985a).

Boundaries respected by early North American groups were mentioned by early European visitors. Maps drawn by Kelsey, La Verendrye, Henday, Pond, Turnor, Fidler, and Thompson have been used to reconstruct some of the regional boundaries controlled inhabited by differing western groups (Luebke, Kay and Moulton 1987; Moodie 1987; Ruggles 1987; Russell and Meyer 1999)). More accurate maps date from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, but they do not come to any appreciable agreement concerning their geographic extent<sup>12</sup> (Figure 3.1).

Differences existed among Native North Americans. Some of the most easily observed differences and perceptions often coloured the whites' views and appreciation of Indian culture. In one specific way antipathy obscured the way that indigenous westerners divided the vast area of British North American. The British cared little for the Indian and Metis regional entities because they did not fit in with the European means and methods of private ownership and boundary demarcation. The result of this view was that the British did not recognise the land holdings of the Indians and thus undermined the political integrity of Indian nations.

Figure 3.1: Pre-Contact Nations of Western Canada





Eventually, the British would use their military might, technological power, and even immunity systems (while justifying actions by their perception of innate superiority) to claim aboriginal lands as their own. As the Rupert's Land Act, among others, would show, they went so far as to lay "legal" claim to their spoils.

...all these seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes creeks, and sounds in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or state...and that the said lands be...called "Rupert's Land" (quoted in Nicholson 1979: 16-17).

The British not only ignored pre-existent boundaries, they refused to acknowledge their legality or the rights of aboriginal peoples to protect and maintain their integrity. By 1870, Ottawa waged a territorial war on the peoples of the plains and thereby did not accept nor credit the pre-existent arrangement of space. Their actions stemmed from Eurocentric ideas of what was proper, ideas that had, in Europe, only recently, changed. As Glassner and de Blij (1989: 13) note, the concept of territoriality had recently

emerged out of feudalism in Europe as the concept of *regnum*, or personal sovereignty, was gradually replaced by that of *dominium*, or national

sovereignty. That is, people gradually transferred their allegiance from an individual sovereign...to an intangible but territorial political entity, the State.

Similar political developments had not occurred in pre-contact North America where animist beliefs remained dominant. Land, like the subsurface, flora, and fauna were part of the whole, part of a single entity. Between it and humans and their groups, there were few perceptual, polar differences. Land was not yet viewed as a commodity. The British value system declared that the acquisition of land improved one's status or standing in the community.

Of course the British and French experience in North America not only involved the expansion of their Empires but of commerce and religion as well. European travellers *cum* explorers, dating to the mid 1700s, were missionaries and men of the fur trade, their views and their depictions of the west were those of men looking for converts or for fur resources. If found, as they often were in the west's Parkland regions, furs attracted traders. When not, fur traders showed little interest in these lands. Therefore, the value of land was established not only as its inherent benefit to empire building but, in this case, as its capability to support the fur economy. Given the distribution of prime fur-bearers, such a view ensured that

southern portions of the west would remain outside the initial ecumene of Europeans. Little if any interest was expressed in these areas except as the supply-house for pemmican, the ubiquitous food of the fur trade. The southwest would thereby become marginal to the fur trade, but hunting buffalo and preserving the meat for transport and storage across the Canadian west eventually became the role of one particular group, the Metis, whose heritage was thereby embedded across the western landscape.

The Metis were people who were born of the union of Europeans and Native Americans. Initially, children of mixed parentage had Native mothers and European fathers (discussion abounds regarding the origins of the Metis: see Brown 1980; Redbird 1980; Metis Association *et al.* 1981; Dickason 1985b; Sealey and Lussier 1985). Many children of such unions lived in eastern and central North American areas (Dickason 1985b), but only on the Canadian Prairies did they become a powerful social and political force. Most worked in and were an essential element of the subarctic and prairie fur trade. Many were employees of the HBC or of one of the many independent companies that would one day form the NWC.

Family relations between Metis and Indians were often beneficial to both fur trade companies and individual traders. Trade with relatives was often more lucrative (and safer) than trade with "unknowns". Metis were therefore productive traders; their knowledge of languages and customs, routes and the lie of the land ensured a competitive advantage to the companies who employed them (Foster 1986; Frideres 1988). This was the advantage that independent companies exploited during the HBC's "stay-on-the-Bay" period (1670-1774) and one that eventually forced the takeover by the older company of the younger, more dynamic NWC (Ray, Moodie, and Heidenreich 1987).

In fact, Metis preferred to work with upstart, smaller, independent outfits because of their aura of freedom and the stronger entrepreneurial spirit that they encouraged (Foster 1986). Despite the numbers working for the HBC and NWC, it was within smaller, less grandiose operations that Metis nationalism may have begun and where the ability to live *en pays* would most clearly be found. It seemed that the lifestyle of the *coureur de bois* and *les voyageurs* appealed to the Metis, especially because it allowed them the freedom to exercise their innate entrepreneurial spirit (Foster 1986). It may have been this spirit that created, by the mid

to late 1700s, a sense of self-consciousness, an ethnic awakening, among the Metis; they began to recognise their contribution to the fur trade and began to appreciate the inherent and nascent nation in which they lived (Dickason 1985b). They began, as a group, to satisfy elements of nationhood. Furthermore, they began to recognise that control of one's home -- one's place -- was an absolute necessity in ensuring national survival. As Kienetz (1988: 12) has observed "A land base or homeland is generally one of the essential prerequisites of nationalism". By the early 1800s, Metis had a homeland in the area centered on the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, in what is now southern Manitoba. This homeland was known as the Red River Colony.

The Red River Colony comprised 116,000 square miles in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Founded by Thomas Douglas Selkirk (the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Selkirk), who, along with his brother-in-law had acquired a controlling interest in the HBC, it was settled in the summer of 1811 by approximately one-hundred Scots and Irish, who arrived by travelling southward on the Nelson River. A second, smaller party joined the first in the autumn of the same year. A third addition to the settlement, fifty-one Kildonan

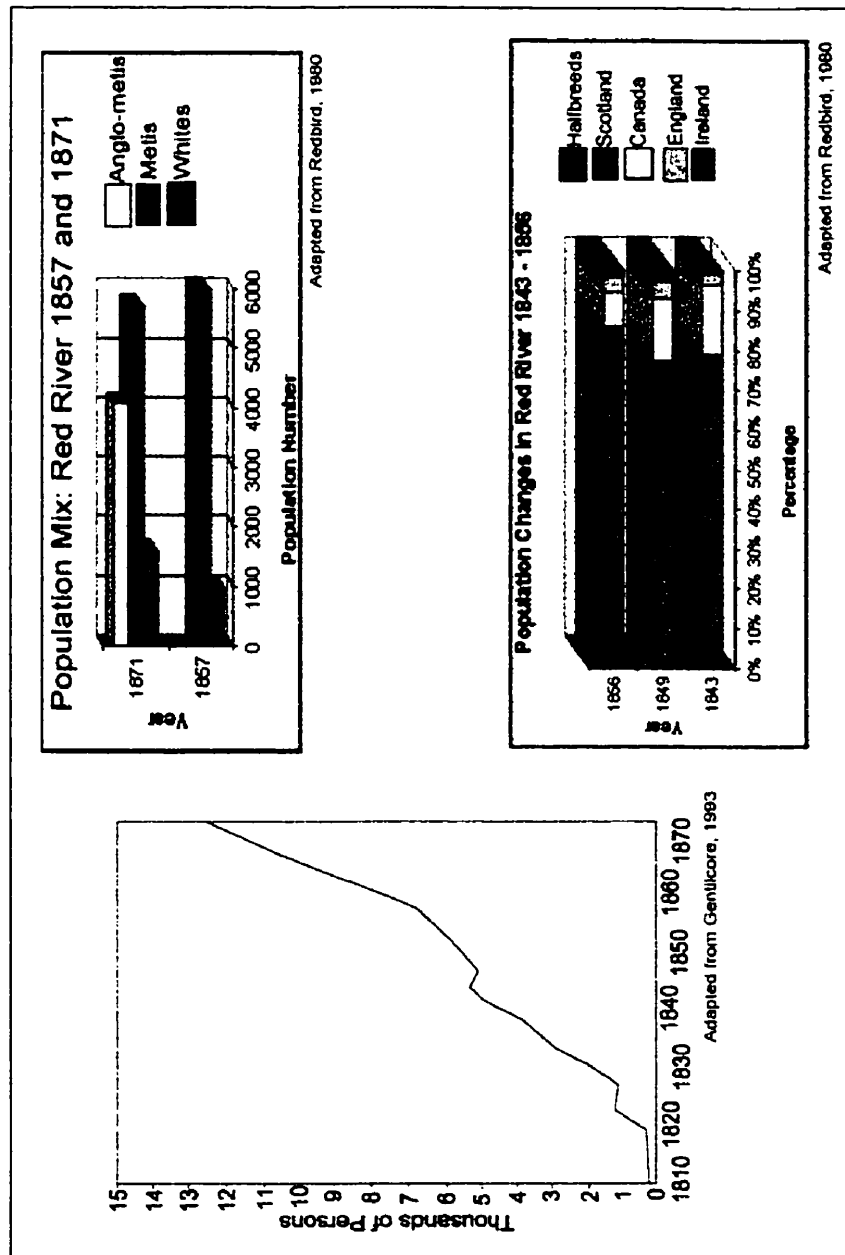
settlers, began their journey in 1813, but did not reach their destination until 1814 and a finally group of approximately eighty, arrived in 1815. It would seem, however, that the presence of the Red River Colony was contentious. As Morton (1962: 428) observes

From the first the colony aroused the suspicion of the North West Company, which challenged the title of the Hudson's Bay Company to the soil of Rupert's Land, though the first parties of colonists were aided. The Nor'Westers feared that the colony would prove a threat to the supply of pemmican for the line of communications and the posts of the fur-bearing regions farther west.

The Colony lasted until 1821 with the union of the HBC and NWC, at which time most colonists left and Selkirk returned to England. They had not been able to overcome poor seed, inadequate tools, a harsh, foreign climate, grasshopper infestations and a lack of a nearby market for their grain and cattle. With the departure of the Irish, Scots and Kildonan settlers, Metis would dominate.

Many events of the first half of the 1800s contributed to the formation of Metis self-consciousness and nationalism. These events included the Battles of Seven Oaks and Grand Coteau, the departure of the Selkirk settlers, the annual buffalo hunt and later the Sayer Trial. The demography of the Red River region was predominantly Metis. By 1870, fully 9000 of 12000 people (Figure 3.2) living

**Figure 3.2: Red River Population 1810 - 1870**



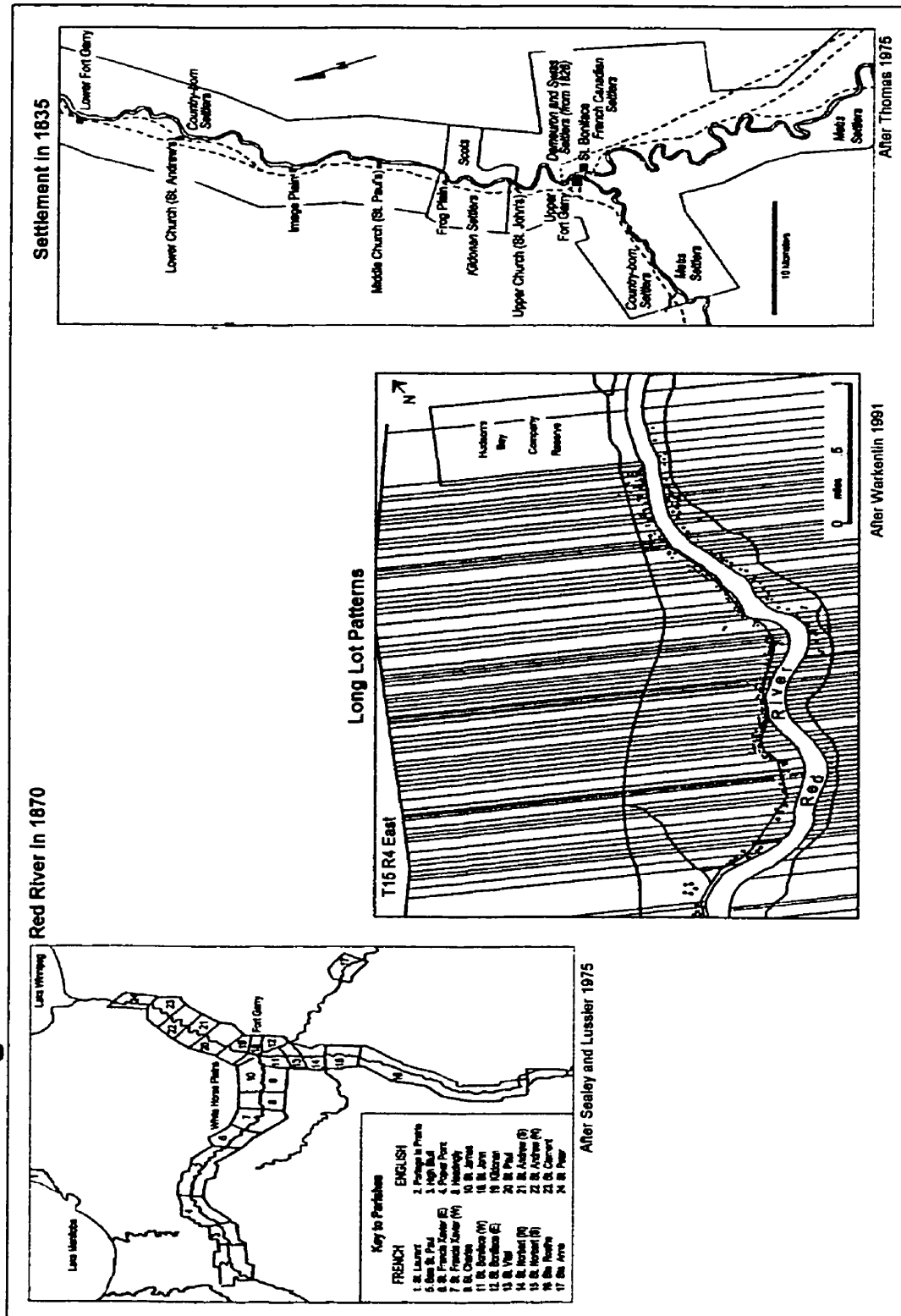
there were Metis (Kientetz 1988). But despite their numeric dominance in Red River:

it was in the Far Northwest that a sense of separate identity finally crystallized. It was only there that appropriate conditions were found: isolation, slowness of settlement and the enduring importance of the fur trade. In this context, French-English rivalries encouraged the new spirit contrary to what effect had been in the east. The fur trade allowed it to be born; the isolation, far from the pull-and-haul of intercolonial warfare...allowed it to develop. When settlers finally arrived...their presence was the catalyst which transformed mild awareness into conviction. From that point, the métis knew they were a distinct people with a way of life that was worth defending. (Dickason 1985b:30-31)

Regardless of the reasons for solidarity among the Metis in Red River, a perceptible shift westward in "spiritual focus" took place in the early and mid 1800s (Dickason 1985b). Still, the Metis focal point remained Red River (Figure 3.3). With the amalgamation of the NWC and HBC in 1821, Red River would be the capital both of the western fur trade and of Metis influence and life. It was here that Metis lifeways were most obviously impressed upon the land. It was their habitat. Here a niche was filled. Red River was home, the hearth. One important aspect of life at Red River was reflected by the long lots that were adopted (Warkentin 1991). As in New France, long lots (extending back from the river some 2 miles) provided



**Figure 3.3: Metis Life in Red River 1835 and 1870**



transportation (water) frontage and varied environments. Stretching back from the river shore to the open prairie "behind", away from the river, farmers had access to open fields, a commons existed. Soon a "hay privilege" evolved (Flanagan 1991). Many aspects of farming in Red River reflected a corporate structure<sup>13</sup>: which was different from that practised by incoming Ontarians (Clark 1983). Farming in the Metis style was not the bastion of free enterprise and individualism as it was in many other frontier situations (Nye and Morpurgo 1955; Turner 1962; Harris 1992a). For Metis, farming was not their sole economic pursuit. Farms were often seen as supplemental to the life of the open prairie where hunting, trapping, and freighting took precedence (Clark 1983; Ens 1988). But farming was an important part of the annual cycle of life (Tough 1996).

The HBC's impending sale of their lands in Rupert's Land concerned the Metis. Men and women had worked for the Company. It was a known entity. Canadians, as potential rulers, were not (Stanley 1961). As Canadians arrived (see Figure 3.2), tension and conflict began to emerge (Morton 1939; Stanley 1961; Woodcock 1975; Harrison 1985). Conflict escalated because, as Foster (1986: 394) observes:

"interests other than the fur trade were preparing their assault on the resources of the Northwest". Canadians sought to gain complete control of resources, especially land. The exercise of Canadian power was not an extraordinary event in the annals of European settlement in North America. What was rather different was that in the prairie, despite a way-of-life somewhat similar to Europeans, were ignored as viable claimants. In 1981, Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson (18) succinctly addressed this attitude:

There was a common misunderstanding on the part of newcomers regarding the Metis' use of the land. The new settlers could neither appreciate the way the subsistence of the Red River Settlement was dependent on the buffalo hunt, nor could they appreciate the amount of land needed for this pursuit. As far as they were concerned, the land was not being used at all unless it was under cultivation. Hunting and trapping was never seen as a viable means of making a living. Instead, the Metis and Indian way of life was seen as backward and a hindrance to progress. Those who pursued traditional subsistence activities were expected to move out of the way or change their lifestyles.

Metis were distrustful of Canadian overtures. Actions at Pembina<sup>14</sup> in 1869, and the incident featuring Louis Riel's "foot on the chain" near Fort Garry (Stanley 1961; MacGregor 1981) showed that the Metis would no longer stand by and be quietly dispossessed of western political influence or

dismissed as irrelevant players in the game of western expansion. They took action.

The onset of opposition to the Canadian take-over of Rupert's Land opened a new era in the Metis' experience. Concern for land title would characterize relations with the federal government over the course of the Red River Insurrection<sup>15</sup> and in its aftermath. There would arise serious conflict and there would be deep future ramifications. As Spry (1985: 113) observed:

Western Canada, as we know it today, was indeed born of conflict, conflict not between métis and mixed-blood, but between a wandering, free life and settlement; a conflict between agriculturalists, especially the flood of newcomers in search of landed property and wealth, and the old way of life that both métis and mixed-bloods had in common with their Indian cousins, a way of life based on adjustment to the natural environment and the shared use of the free gifts of nature. That way of life was doomed with the coming of surveyors, fences, police, organized government, settlers and private rights of property in real estate and natural resources. With it went the prosperity and independence of all but a small elite of métis and mixed-bloods alike (Spry 1985, 113).

### **3.3 Manitoba**

Serious concern with gaining and maintaining legal title to lands in and near the Red River settlement came as the HBC began to negotiate its land sale to the Canadian

government. Before, the Company, as the dominant institution in the region, often functioned as a government. By the 1830s, their power over the region was waning. Morton (1962: 428), outlines the changes:

Until 1836 the settlement was administered by a governor and council of Assiniboia appointed by Selkirk and his heirs; in that year the Hudson's Bay Company bought back Assiniboia from the Selkirk estate. The District of Assiniboia under the company continued to be administered by a governor and council appointed by the company until the union with Canada. However, the surrender of a free trade in furs to the settlers in 1849 and the opening of communications with Minnesota and Canada in the 1850s marked the beginning of the end of the company rule and the political and economic isolation of the Red River Settlement.

With the Company's Canadian negotiations, Metis became concerned about their future and about their rights in a new Canadian west. Understandably, they were concerned that neither Canada, Great Britain, nor the HBC had thought to consider their needs and wants as part of the negotiations. Past unfair treatment and the crystallisation of these concerns that led to the Riel Insurrection and ultimately to the creation of the Province of Manitoba and all its inherent problems and situations.

Events that led to the creation of Manitoba have been chronicled and examined by many, from many different perspectives (Morton 1939; Stanley 1961; Redbird 1980;

Harrison 1985; Francis and Palmer 1992). However, as an issue focusing on land tenure, ownership and control, questions raised are much more complex than who "won" the military/political conflict. The issue would become more involved when Metis claims (moral and legal) to lands were acceded to by the federal government.

Recognition of Metis rights to land in the west came with the negotiation of the Rupert's Land Order and later with 1870's passing of the Manitoba Act by the Canadian Parliament. This act recognised that the Metis merited aboriginal rights (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981). The basis for the legal recognition of Native rights has been interpreted to reside in the fact that claims "arise from long and continuous use and occupancy by native peoples prior to the effective assertion of European sovereignty" (Usher, Tough and Galois 1992). While the Metis' existence was concurrent with, not previous to 'European sovereignty', the Act "provided a constitutional recognition of a Metis claim on aboriginal title and arrangements for securing the existing landholding system" (Usher, Tough and Galois 1992). Aboriginal title therefore entitled Metis to land and its use and to have these rights "guaranteed" by the government of Canada.

Before these rights were recognised in the Manitoba Act, Metis emissaries had been sent to Ottawa to negotiate the entry of the "Postage Stamp Province" into Confederation. The head negotiator, Father N.-J. Ritchot, returned to the Red River Settlement with what he thought was an agreement to respect, or at least consider, some of the Metis demands (Flanagan 1991; Maillot and Sprague 1985). But both Ritchot and the Metis committee who had written his "instructions" were mistaken if they thought that their demands were to be met in a manner that allowed for the maintenance of the contemporary Metis way-of-life. Further, they were mistaken if they thought the Manitoba Act would safeguard their lands from falling into the hands of others.

When Ritchot departed from Red River, he had been party to the Debates of the Convention of 40 (where Metis negotiation policy had been set). During his time in Ottawa, and throughout meetings with Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, Sir George Etienne Cartier and others, his frustration at the recalcitrance of "Old Tomorrow" (Macdonald) seemed to have been alleviated upon the completion of negotiations. Upon his return, Ritchot believed that he had successfully negotiated a province within which the Metis would have special corporate rights

(Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981; Sprague 1988; Flanagan 1991). If these rights had been assured, the Metis would continue as a "founding people" in the Red River area. They would continue to hold power in Manitoba. In essence, their way-of-life would have a place. The ultimate focus of these hopes resided in the allocation of land grants.

Instead, Ottawa took a different path. The land issue would be resolved by providing land scrip to the Metis. In Manitoba, a disbursement of land to the Metis involved issuing certificates or scrip (Table 3.1). Scrip entitled the bearer to land or to "money". Money could be used toward the purchase of Dominion land. The dispersal of these certificates proceeded with confusion and with many *ad hoc* policy alterations. There were "120 separate Orders-in-Council...issued regarding land claims and scrip" between the years 1871 and 1925 (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981: 94). Clearly, scrip was neither a well-enunciated or well-implemented policy. "Scrip...developed from a combination of legislative acts, Orders-in-Council, and individual rulings on specific cases made by the Department of the Interior". This issuing of scrip was "an incredibly complicated and often contradictory set of regulations" (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981: 92) that did not assure a Manitoban



**Table 3.1 Chronology of the Metis Scrip Issue**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Act or Event</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1870	Manitoba Act	Recognized Aboriginal Rights of Metis and granted 1.4 million acres to children of Metis family heads (140 acres each).
1870	Census of Metis and land rights holders	9800 Metis, 560 Indian and 1600 whites found to be eligible for grants (Flanagan 1991) .
1871	Order-in-Council	Regulations set for land disbursement. Heads of Metis families to get land too (Flanagan 1991).
1872	Order-in-Council	Another census conducted to count Metis heads of families who are entitled to grants (Taylor 1983).
1872	Ministerial Order	"select Metis reserves without delay" (Flanagan 1991)
1873	Order-in-Council	All grants cancelled. Redone for Metis children only – grants of 190 acres each (Flanagan 1991) .
1874	Manitoba Act extended	Heads of Metis families included in land grants (160 acres) (Taylor 1983). Also extended to all those who lived in Red River 1813-1835 (160 acres) (Flanagan 1991).
1874	Order-in-Council	Children's grants increased to 160 acres and provision added to allow commissioners to investigate claims (Taylor 1983).
1875	Bill 110	Minister of Interior (Laird) tries to personally take over all aspects of land grants. Scrip issue raised but defeated as unconstitutional amendment to the Manitoba Act (Flanagan 1991).
1875	Order-in-Council	Commission appointed to remunerate children, heads of families and original white settlers. Affidavits needed to prove residency (Flanagan 1991).
1875	Order-in-Council	Methods described to determine who is eligible for land grants (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981). .
1876	Order-in-Council	Scrip issued to satisfy claims under Act of 1874. Extended to include 160 acres to heads of families (Taylor 1983).
1876	Scrip	First \$50,000 worth of scrip is issued (Flanagan 1991).
1876	Order-in-Council	Metis children's grants raised to 240 acres (Taylor 1983).
1876	Children's grants	Grants to children of 240 acres begin (Taylor 1983). .
1876	Scrip	Approximately 80% of scrip is issued (Flanagan 1991).
1879	Dominion Lands Act	Act is amended to extend Metis grants throughout the N-WT (not just Manitoba) (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981). .
1881	Children's Grants	Bulk of allotments are completed (Flanagan 1991).
1885	Dominion Lands Act	All Metis in N-WT, outside Manitoba, on July 15, 1870 are to receive 240 acres in scrip (Taylor 1983).
1885	Order-in-Council	On eve of rebellion, procedures for issuance of N-W scrip are worked-out (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981).
1886	North-West Commission	Metis Scrip Commission, led by Street, begins (Street 1944 and Flanagan 1991).

homeland for Metis peoples. Scrip did not develop until after initial Canadian policies relating to the Manitoba Act had been created. Initial government policies focused on the issue of children's land grants. An attempt was made to create a savings plan for children of Metis heads of families (Flanagan 1991). Yet, the children's land grants would bog down into interminable delay and red tape. From conception in 1870 until August 31, 1877, when the first bundles of delivered approvals arrived in Winnipeg (Flanagan 1991), patience must have worn thin for those waiting for land. Allotments to Metis children were slightly different from later scrip issues (see discussion below). Theoretically, scrip issue could not be transferred from one person to another. However, scrip issue could be transferred with power-of-attorney and the petition of the child's guardian. While entirely within the letter of the law, both Acts ensured that many allotments found their way into the hands of speculators.

The notion that Metis heads of families also should receive lands if they were residents of pre-provincial Manitoba began with similar demands from former Selkirk settlers (as early as December, 1870 calls were being made

for such legislation; Flanagan 1991). Unlike the children's grants, land to Metis adults was to be granted as scrip. It would not involve a lottery or the assignment of a specific parcel per person as in the case of children's grants. Only after scrip had been apparently approved, cancelled, and then approved anew with the extension of the Manitoba Act in 1874 would Metis family heads together with all those of European ancestry who resided in Red River from 1813 to 1835, receive 160 acres or \$160 in scrip. By March, 1876, scrip was being distributed. One important aspect of scrip was that it was treated by the courts as private property. It could therefore be conveyed with a minimal amount of regulatory red tape. Scrip purchasing became an important activity leading to land speculation, a productive and lucrative business in Winnipeg and later in Regina, Swift Current and Calgary.

Land speculation may have been reduced had scrip been designated as "real estate". Scrip certificates and their sale and transference would have been regulated by a much more rigorous body of civil law than it was regulated as "private property". The latter could be easily bartered, sold, and signed-over (often with an "X" that indicated that the seller was illiterate) to anyone through power-of-

attorney. Legislation could have been enacted that would have precluded the guardians or parents of children access to children's grants. Neither of these protective actions was deemed appropriate by the Dominion government.

Scrip came into being and onto the open market much more quickly than did children's grants but by the end of 1876, after less than one year's issuance, 80% of scrip issued to Metis heads of families had been disseminated (Flanagan 1991). Scrip was created more quickly, distributed more quickly, and, presumably, found its way into speculators' hands more quickly than did that which was designated for children<sup>16</sup>.

Questions abound regarding the government's motivation for implementing the grants and scrip. Were they acting overly paternalistically (perhaps mistakenly given the ensuing results) in trying to ensure Metis corporate rights? Why the interminable delays in issuance? And finally what was the government's role in land speculation and Metis land sales? The issuance of scrip and its subsequent "dispersal" among incoming settlers (rather than its maintenance by Metis people) is one key component in the Metis migration westward. The question of the federal government's motivation for extinguishing Native title (presumably the

prime reason for ceding land to Metis) by applying a complex system of children's grants and an equally obtuse scrip policy may be reduced to two fundamental, perhaps polar, views. One states that Metis were actively dispossessed of their lands in Manitoba by the actions of the Canadian federal government. Changes of policy and the encouragement of scrip sales, by treating it as personal property, were all part of a policy wherein:

most of the rules...seemed designed to get the scrip out of Metis hands as fast as possible. Defining most Half-Breed scrip as personal property, recognizing powers of attorney, allowing Half-Breed scrip to be used on homesteads, offering assistance to land companies to deal in scrip, all seemed expressly designed to facilitate speculation (Sawchuk, Sawchuk and Ferguson 1981: 110).

The long delay in producing a policy for children's land grants is also viewed by Mailot and Sprague (1985: 4) in much the same manner:

The prime publicly stated rationale for delay was that nothing could be granted to anyone (except loyalists advancing rebellion-losses claims and to troops receiving military bounty warrants) until the basic land surveys were complete...Newcomers were invited to take up apparently vacant land wherever they found it...The reality, of course, was that the Government of Canada had no intention of creating an autonomous "half breed" province. The intention -- before, during, and after the passage of the Manitoba Act -- was speedy confirmation of grants by the HBC and a land policy that would encourage large-scale immigration from Ontario and the British Isles

before settling any other native land claims. Such a policy implied a denial of native self-government and of Dominion control of public lands.

Such a view depicts contemporary Canadian politicians and policy makers as devious plot-hatchers whose goal was to free-up lands for Ontario's agrarian expansion. In a less conspiratorial manner they may simply be acting in the best interests of their constituents/employers who were demanding room to express their agrarian urges. Canada, as an outgrowth of British ideological application -- early modernism -- was simply in the position to expand its colonial influence, its Empire, by conniving to deprive a quasi-Native group of its indigenous land rights. Such actions would surely have been within acceptable limits of an emerging colonial power.

Some maintain that the government did not act in any manner that was the least bit morally or legally suspect. Such a view may even suggest that through its paternalistic actions the Canadian government caused Metis to sell their scrip for an immediate cash settlement. From this perspective, the federal government not only erected a "compulsory savings plan" for Metis children but they "clearly went beyond the requirements of the Manitoba Act in giving scrip to Metis heads of families" (Flanagan 1991:

226). They implemented these plans fairly, attempted to correct mistakes, and spared no expense to "satisfy the original settlers" (Flanagan 1991, 160).

Problems arose because of false expectations encouraged by Father Ritchot. He thought that he had established the prerequisites for a Metis Nation. In this new nation, group rights of the Metis would be protected. The key to group rights lay in "corporate land holdings" rather than individual ones. When the "land claims settlement" was announced, Ritchot expressed disappointment in its atomistic, individualistic nature. Flanagan (1991: 229) maintains that he merely "read the enclave concept into the act" and that he was mistaken to have thought that Ottawa would have negotiated such a settlement. In Flanagan's (1991: 229) opinion:

They were prepared to be generous to the Metis as individuals, but not to give the land to a collective entity... To all these men in government, fulfilment of the Manitoba Act meant conferring a series of discrete benefits upon Metis individuals, not creating the land base of a Metis nation.

The government of Canada recognised Metis claims to special privilege toward land when they implemented systems of land grants and scrip issue. They did not recognise Metis enclaves where their traditions, especially those regarding

land ownership or husbandry, would flourish. Instead, Ottawa instituted a Euro-centric model for the dissemination of scrip. Land or scrip was granted to individuals, thus Metis were treated as any other British subject, excluding Indians. Ottawa's solution was to disable the traditional collective *cum* corporate structure of Metis land tenure. This solution effectively drove Metis people from their traditional cultural hearth into the western *hivernant* lands beyond the reach of the federal government. This solution allowed, and perhaps encouraged, the Metis to sell scrip and rights to land (Kienetz 1988: 15).

Metis sold their lands and their rights to other lands, often to officers of the court, relatives of those officers, and many others who had travelled to Winnipeg expressly to trade in scrip. The free-for-all of land sales, transfers based on power-of-attorney and "touchings of the pen" can be depicted as part of a normal, free-market, supply and demand system. In it the role of the speculator was a noble one. According to Flanagan (1990, 1991) they not only dared to risk capital, but by flipping land the speculator, single-handedly beat down artificially high land costs. It all added-up to a functional, late 19th-century commercial system in operation for the long-term good of all.



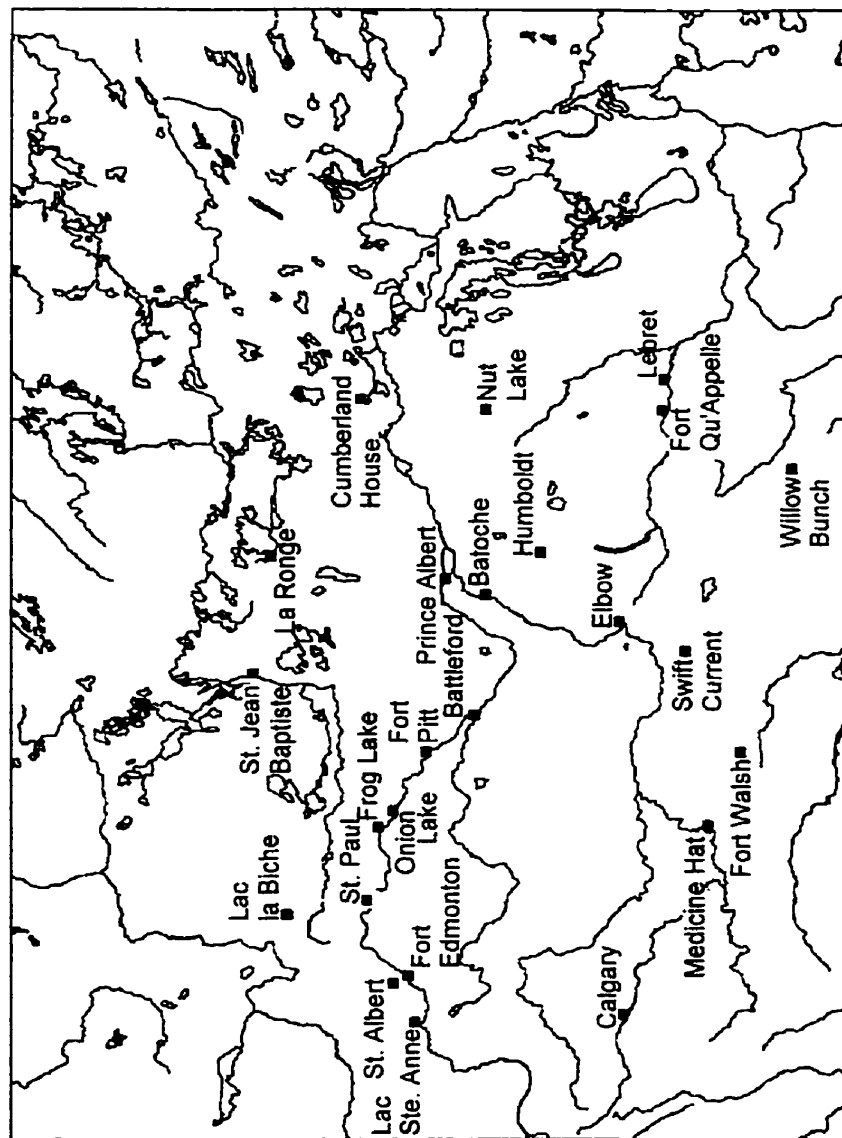
There is abundant evidence to show the existence of a functioning, competitive market in which sales as such were not exploitative. If the Metis chose to sell in this market, who is to say the decision was irrational? (Flanagan 1991: 149)

In such a view the assumption is that individuals have the power and the wherewithal to control their destiny and social position. Individual Red River Metis landowners who managed to stay and thrive in the vicinity of the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers were successful because they owned more land and because they were more like (or became more like) incoming migrants. They maintained their land because they were more capable of doing so than were those who left for points west to pursue the buffalo. Metis who stayed were people of means, likely English-speaking. Such Metis were advantaged in terms of their personal character, access to capital and social standing (Ens 1988).

Other Metis, especially French-speaking, searched for a new place of their own somewhere in the North-West Territories (Figure 3.4). Here they would create *émigré* enclaves. Mailot and Sprague (1985: 7) describe them as:

Less than 20 per cent of the "half breed" population of the region in 1885 was native to that part of the country. The overwhelming majority - nearly 1000 families distributed in 22 different settlements - was from Manitoba, with the largest concentration of migrants at the forks of the Saskatchewan River, at the Métis

**Figure 3.4: Metis Sites in the North-West circa 1885**



200 km approx. Mercator Projection

colony of St. Laurent and at the native English community of Prince Albert.

Metis life was to change. Ens (1988: 122) for example suggests that the entire movement to the North-West Territories (central and southern Alberta and Saskatchewan) "a response to attractive new economic activities that emerged in the fur trade after 1850". Chief among new activities was the trade in buffalo robes. The buffalo robe business led to an abandonment of agriculture by a segment of Metis. Buffalo hunting was "an important impetus to emigration from Red River." (Ens 1988: 124). Those Metis left to pursue the buffalo, not because they were demoralised, frustrated or "unsuccessful" in competing with an overwhelming non-Metis majority in Manitoba who had all the keys to power, prestige and property. In the 1870s, the North-West Territories was seen as a place of unbridled opportunity for those Metis. They sold their Red River holdings, profited grandly, and then departed for the open west (with pockets full of silver). They saw opportunity and they seized it. In the North-West Territories, Metis people had a chance to begin anew. In doing so, however, they abandoned one set of traditions to begin another. Their movement marks the end of one phase of Metis development and

the start of another that culminated in warfare and further social and economic marginalization.

The westward migration of the Metis saw their "place" in Canada re-oriented Canadian power had been exerted in Manitoba, leaving migration to the North-West as the only hope to establishing a Metis homeland. They no longer dominated in the Red River Settlement. They left their homeland in the Red River and by the early 1880s they had established a new order in the North-West Territories.

### **3.4 The North-West**

After the establishment of Manitoba and the influx of Canadians, Americans and British, Metis sought a new homeland in the North-West. They migrated to reclaim control over their destinies. In the North-West, Metis became small-scale farmers, hunters, wage labourers and freighters. However, a familiar situation would dog them in the west, a situation that would be no different, especially in its outcome, from that which they had left in Manitoba. As there, surveyors and settlers arrived.

Annual buffalo hunts took place near the settlements to the west of Red River (see Figure 3.4). Dating from the

early decades of the 19th century, a number of sites served as over-wintering settlements. These over-wintering Metis groups were usually smaller than the annual buffalo hunting parties. They were "hunting bands containing as few as three families, who, "rather than returning to the river-lots at Red River and other locations, chose to winter on the prairie at wooded oases" (Foster 1986: 395). Just before 1870, these sites became semi-permanent Metis settlements. Most were hunting or trapping sites but occupations were also growing as important contributors to these settlements. Farming, freighting and (later) buffalo-bone collecting would all significantly contribute to the Metis economy.

Areas of potential agricultural activity such as Qu'Appelle, Prince Albert, St. Laurent, and Edmonton, were settled. St. Laurent, founded in 1871, was established "to promote farming and the adoption of a more sedentary lifestyle" (Payment 1990b: 217). Through the 1870s, farming would gradually begin to replace that which was being lost because of the dwindling numbers of buffalo<sup>17</sup>, especially the few buffalo that were coming across the international boundary. With agriculture taking root, the early 1880s seemed "promising".

As early as 1860, Metis of the Batoche-St. Laurent area were engaged in freighting for the HBC and others (Payment 1990b). In other Metis settlements, this economic way-of-life would last much longer because, after 1885, they could haul freight from the CPR to the centres of Prince Albert, Battleford, Qu'Appelle, and Edmonton (see Figure 4.13).

Clearly, Metis were adapting to changing circumstances. They were willing to change and yet to hang-on to parts of their past in order to build something better. As Payment (1990b: 23) observes:

The Métis who migrated to the South Saskatchewan River district sought a new homeland in a region yet unclaimed by Eurocanadians. They wished to be left alone, not as often stated, to turn their backs on progress, but to gradually adapt to playing an important role in the political and economic development of the Canadian North-West.

Such were the places of the *hivernant* of the early north-western Metis. By 1880, life had begun to significantly deviate from its Red River roots. Patterns of economic activity were changing thereby forcing the dynamic nature of Metis society to come to the fore because:

The disappearance of the bison and the end of hunting trips around 1878 announced time of crisis...The transition from hunting to farming had to be made too quickly...the Métis were nonetheless forced to adopt it, especially if they wanted to remain in the area (Payment 1990b: 204).

What followed was a rapid and dramatic transformation from communal buffalo hunters to sedentary farmers. Metis places underwent significant transformations. As Burley, Brandon and Horsfall (1992: 158-160) show, traditional landscapes were changing:

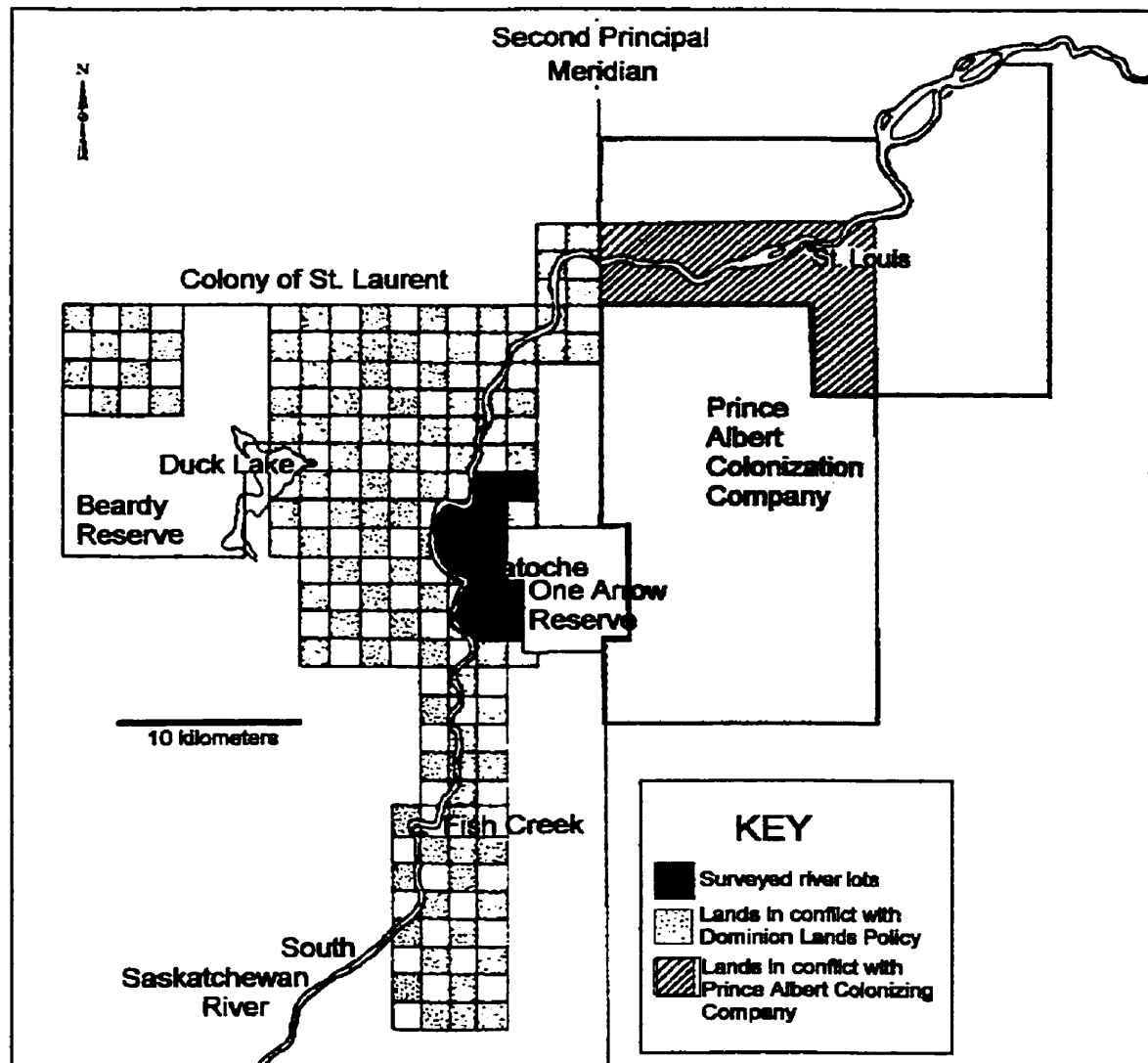
the lack of boundedness as a structuring principle in earlier Métis lifeways, at least on the surface, seems altered as a requirement of adaptation. Property boundaries, clearly defined social relations, formal patterns of land use and a plethora of specialized artifact types seemingly illustrate a propensity for segmentation not present previously...By its nature, open space limits formality in interpersonal relations, inhibits privacy and isolation and promotes integrated and participatory child rearing.

With these changes came renewed recognition of the importance of land title in the Eurocanadian legal system. A campaign to legalize (under Canadian law) and entrench their rights began. The focus was on the most successful farming colony, St. Laurent.

Given their previous Red River experiences, the Metis of St. Laurent were eager to secure title to properties that they occupied by the late 1870s and early 1880s (Payment 1990b). There were some provisions made for the long lot land tenure system, but only for those who had formalised their claims by 1877 and 1878 (Payment 1990b). Many who wanted their lands entered in this form had, by the late

1870s, not advanced their formal claims; instead, they claimed lands under the sectioned (township and range) system (Figure 3.5). The only other option that they had was

**Figure 3.5: Land Issues in St. Laurent**



adapted from Sprague 1988, p. 159

to blatantly ignore legal survey boundaries and to continue living as they had before the surveyors' work. Perhaps many



neglected to fill-in claims, believing that land was not be granted as long lots. Clearly, methods of survey and numbers of applications for title were inexorably linked (Payment 1990b). As early as 1875 in both St. Laurent and Qu'Appelle, groups of Metis petitioned the Dominion government to survey and grant title to their occupied lands (Canada 1875: 31). In 1878-79, an English-speaking survey party was dispatched. At the time, it did not wholly satisfy the Metis petitioners but

it was not until the arrival of another group of compatriots from Manitoba in 1882 and after the transition to an agriculture-based economy and lifestyle that the Métis were moved to assert their claims. [At that time] Many disputed the size of their lots or the poorly-defined boundaries (Payment 1990b: 263).

Further, and more insistent, petitions followed in 1881 and 1884. Major demands were made to resurvey the townships (surveyed in 1878-79) as river lots but the Canadian government continued to insist that Metis register their holdings before they were re-surveyed. Metis continued to resist.

While issues regarding land tenure and form continued to be contentious and as Metis frustrations grew, the Canadian government decreed that scrip, as in Manitoba, would be issued in the North-West. Modelled on the previous

example, the scrip issue of the North-West Territories would face many of the same challenges, as did its eastern predecessor.

Our powers under the Commission and the instructions accompanying it authorized us to issue to each half-breed head of family who was residing in the North-West Territories on 15th July, 1870 a certificate entitling him to receive from the Government "land scrip" to the amount of \$160<sup>26</sup>: and to each half-breed child, born before 15th July, 1870, of parents then residing in the North-West Territories, land scrip to the amount of \$240...The land scrip to be issued was only redeemable by the Government when tendered in payment for money due by purchasers of government land...We were instructed to visit all the principal half-breed settlements in the North-West Territories for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the Commission (Street 1944: 46-47).

Initially, the issuance of scrip did not greatly concern the Metis. They were more concerned with acquiring title to land in a manner that satisfied them. By the time that commissioners were dispatched to settle the fracas over land tenure, however, other contentious issues had caused Metis frustration to boil over (Stanley 1961; Redbird 1980; Metis Association et al. 1981; Sprague 1988). As the Second "Rebellion" began the Metis relationship to the lands of the North-West was about to undergo dramatic change.

The 1885 Insurrection signalled the end of the dominance of traditional Metis lifeways in western Canada and the dream of a Metis Nation. The Metis sought a

partnership, a true confederation, not a dominant federal form of government wherein the rights of minority peoples, in marginal areas, were ignored (see Dickerson and Flanagan 1994). As Foster (1986: 397) notes,

The fundamental aspiration of both Metis and Indians in 1885 was to be recognized as corporate entities and to be guaranteed a relevant role in the West's future as such.

But such was not to be, and violent conflict followed.

The roots of the conflict between indigenous western peoples and incoming Canadians do not only reside in the control of land but also in emergent social relationships, Burley, Horsfall and Brandon (1992: 25) observe the social dimensions of conflict:

The white settlers considered themselves the vanguard of civilization; they saw the Métis as a potential labouring class to serve their economic interests. Attitudes of racial and social superiority exacerbated existing tensions within the colony.

While Payment (1990b: 234) chronicles the perceptual:

The Métis were convinced that the actions of the government and its institutions were of malicious intent. It was a conviction based on their dispossession in Manitoba and the kind of disdain or indifference that they had encountered in the Territories since 1870.

Others have made material aspects of life the cornerstone of conflict, but the ultimate course of events showed that Metis and Eurocanadian views were not blended into a

coherent, fair or equitable land policy. Forces of economy, politics and society, channelled by the Canadian federal government, through legal (and para-legal) power relations, mitigated against it.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The essential demands by the Metis of the North-West Territories included freedom of movement to pursue game and a subsistence lifestyle. The 'land-and-its-personal-ownership' ideology that spread across the continent served as a flash point between the two cultural groups. Eliades (1987: 34) argues that Americans and Canadians held a different view of the world from the Indian and that these visions inevitably led to conflict:

Differences of opinion arose between the Europeans and the Indians, based on environmental relationships and usage, as to what constituted empty lands. What to the whites appeared vacant or underutilized was seen as owned and fully utilized by the natives, whose lives were largely regulated by the cycles of nature. The problem was further complicated by the differing concepts the two peoples had toward the land - the whites believed in private ownership while the Indians believed in tribally-controlled lands. The European settlers quickly came to argue that they would make "superior use" of the land and that sufficient marginal land existed so that the Native Americans could continue their traditional lifestyle without loss.

Conflict like this typified Metis-Canadian relations, with the power exercised by Ottawa overwhelming the Metis and forcing them to move to the North-West Territories.

While formative events like the Battles of Seven Oaks, Grand Coteau, the Sayer trial, and Riel's "foot on the chain" are often seen as "pushes" in Metis immigration from Red River, this dissertation maintains that land ownership and the conflict between two cultures were an integral part of the westward diaspora. Therefore, change within the Red River region was precipitated by contact and conflict with Canadians, especially Ontarioans. State power was on the side of the Canadians.

Through the application of political and economic power, Metis lost many of their traditional places and ways-of-living. Further, their influences in the future directions of Canadian Confederation were eroded. After 1885, they had little power to influence the formation and character of Saskatchewan and Alberta. By the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, theirs was a marginalized existence. Socially, economically and politically, they resided on the fringes of Canadian life both *in situ* and culturally. The hopes for a

Metis nation, one of both place and mind faded. Canadian power proved ascendant.

This chapter outlined both traditional Metis settlements and their hold on western Canada. It analysed a context, one that was unique both in time and place. In doing so it found the middle ground between the chorographic and the systematic/nomothetic paradigms of regional geography. It thereby contributes to understanding the role that power sensitive regional geography has in appreciating western Canadian development.

### 3.6 Notes

1. I will use the term "Metis" to include metis, halfbreed, and country-born. (See the works of Dickason 1985a, 1985b; Peterson and Brown 1985; Foster 1986; and Frideries 1988). In the west there were two distinct groups; métis, the children of French-Native union and Half-Breeds (country born, breeds, mixed bloods) those who owed their parentage to English or Scottish-Native unions. Other terms such as "English-Native" and "Scottish-Native" may have been used as well. Additionally a distinction was made between marriages which were term "county marriages" or "a facon du pays" and those which were "Christian", with the latter being the only form recognized by the HBC.

2. Metis, of course were not "disrupted" by the arrival of Europeans in the west. While some people of mixed heritage did live in eastern North America, it would be some time before Metis would come to exist in the region of western Canada in any great numbers and form a distinct, self-aware group (see Dickason 1985b).

3. Clearly there were Metis in the eastern areas of North America but their existence in Canada's west and their life patterns and landscapes are the focus of this work.

4. The mercantile capitalist HBC existed around Hudson's Bay and diffused westward, with the journey of Henry Kelsey, from 1689. The NWC, having its historic roots in the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence region diffused through Rat Portage (Kenora, Ontario) onto the north western prairies. Conflict typified many of the company's relations with one another (reaching a zenith at the Battle (?) Massacre (?) of Seven Oaks in 1816). The companies were later restructured as a single entity (HBC) in 1821, ostensibly ending the era of fur trade rivalry and conflict. (See Harris and Warkentin 1991)

5. Metis life was well-adapted to the seasons and physiography of the prairies. With the arrival of the Selkirk settlers and the gradual shift (not yet dominance) towards commercial agriculture in the Red River region came the conflict between traditional (Metis and Indian) and modern (Ontarioan, Scottish and English) land uses and land division. Traditional patterns and uses, while not

immediately threatened, could be seen to be "on the table". For one, the traditional hay privilege could be seen as being surveyed out of existence through the imposition of a Euro-based cadastral system.

6. Permanence is difficult to define among the *hivernant* (Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992). Population numbers and times of occupance can be established but not with great confidence, or, presumably accuracy.

7. Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon (1992) make a reasonable attempt at applying these principles to the Metis settlements in the Cypress Hills.

8. Social function theory as developed by Gibson and Gowans (1976) observes that the cultural landscape not only reflects cultural proclivities but actively advances those same elements.

9. Too often the dynamic nature of culture is overlooked. Cultures MUST adapt, must constantly re-evaluate ideology, evolve technologically and reconstitute socially. Populations therefore vary, as do social conditions. While it is important to analyze such conditions, it is also imperative to recognize that the groups (or conditions) are not static. As phenomena or characteristics are observed, categorized and debated, they may change. Chaotic or not, impressions and analysis remains fleeting.

10. For a more detailed discussion see Chapters One and Two.

11. Obviously exact locations of prehistoric peoples are hard to establish (Pohorecky 1973; Wright 1987 and Milne 1994).

12. There exist a plethora of different maps showing where Indian nations existed during prehistoric and contact times. Of course disease and the diffusion of innovations (gun, horse) in the era preceding contact undoubtedly affected and re-made these nations. (Gibbins and Ponting 1986; Fridieres 1988 and Milne 1994).

13. Red River life, as it had evolved from both native North American as well as European influences reflected a more corporate texture than it did atomistic individualism.



The community pastures (hay privileges) and annual massive buffalo hunt both are testament to important facets of group orientation. While an entrepreneurial spirit was clearly one appealing aspect of the fur trade, farming and the seasonal "sedentary-ness" of life at Red River displays the primary group attributes associated with a more corporate orientation.

14. Rupert's Land was sold by Britain to Canada. Metis were not consulted in this undertaking. More to the point, Canada dispatched an official representative of their interests before the agreement had been finalized. A Metis Militia refused the governor passage to the region. He remained at Pembina, U.S.A. corresponding with officials in Ottawa over the telegraph.

15. Were the actions of March, 1886 a rebellion, or an insurrection? Actions of traitors to Canada or patriots of the Metis nation? As recently as February, 1998 with the completion of an ice sculpture on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, the debate continues.

16. The issuance of scrip and the administration of children's land grants are contentious issues in the historiography of Canadian Native Studies, historical geography, history and political science. Several major issues seem to be the focus of debate (and animosity) among scholars including questions of real property, prices of buffalo robes and the role of speculators in the distribution of deeds. See Hatt 1983, 1986; Ens 1988; Flanagan 1990, 1991; Payment 1990a; and Sprague et al. 1993.

17. As early as 1877 the Canadian government sought to protect declining numbers of buffalo (Canada, 1878).

**Chapter Four**  
**The Irrelevance of Place: Modernism and the Creation of**  
**Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1870 - 1905**

**4.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines how western Canada was explored, surveyed and settled. But most of this chapter, indeed the heart of this chapter, takes place in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries when the settlement of the west takes place. The purchase of the Hudson Bay Company's land from the British in 1870 was an important first step. Thereafter, territorial expansion into these lands was controlled by Ottawa and marked by assessment, international negotiations, wars on indigenous peoples<sup>1</sup> and the imposition of a township land survey.

The carving of the North-West Territories into two provinces serves as a final point in the dissemination of Canadian power. In 1905, provincehood arrived but in a form that did not lead to immediate, tangible benefits for the North-West. However, it did mark the full integration (co-option?) of the North-West into Confederation. In short, a Canadian, rather than a North-West agenda came to dominate. Through the exertion of Canadian economic, political, and

social power, the landscape of this region became indelibly marked by the forces and the power of modernism<sup>2</sup>. While the roots of modernistic influences on the western Canadian landscapes came into being well before this period<sup>3</sup>, it was then that Canadians expanded their ecumene westward.

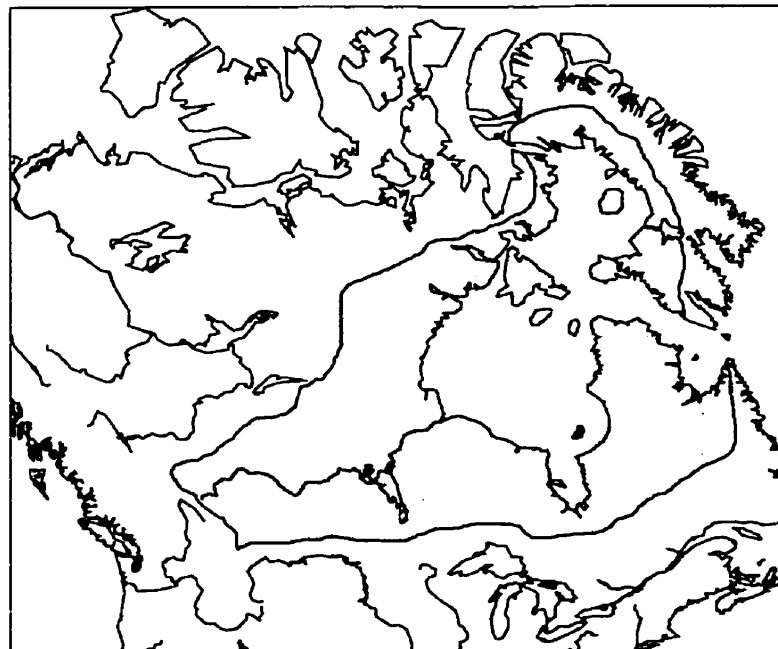
A power-oriented regional geography, with emphases on the processes of land division, distribution and provincial creation contributes to an understanding of the dynamic discourse that shaped regionalism in western Canada. Because it gives attention to relationships of power between the west and Ottawa, it clarifies how access to and control of natural resources shaped western Canada's position in Confederation.

#### **4.2 Territorial Expansion and Treaties**

British expansion and control of the west began with Rupert's Land (Figure 4.1). This land was granted to "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England tradeing into Hudson's Bay" by Charles II of England on May 2, 1670. The grant covered an enormous area of approximately one and one-half million square miles (for a description see Chapter 3, page 53-54), all of which drained into Hudson's Bay.

The granting of such a large tract, together with the concomitant rights of control, demonstrates how the British not only ignored pre-existent, native boundaries. The British also refused to acknowledge native legality or the rights of people pre-existing them to protect and maintain their integrity. The British did not accept the pre-existent arrangement of space on the northern plains (see Chapter Three, pages 51-54). Given the contemporary European world-view, the British perhaps did not even perceive such nations to exist. Their perceptions and actions undoubtedly stemmed from a Eurocentric ideology that had, in Europe, only

**Figure 4.1: Approximate Extent of Rupert's Land**



adapted from Nicholson, 1979

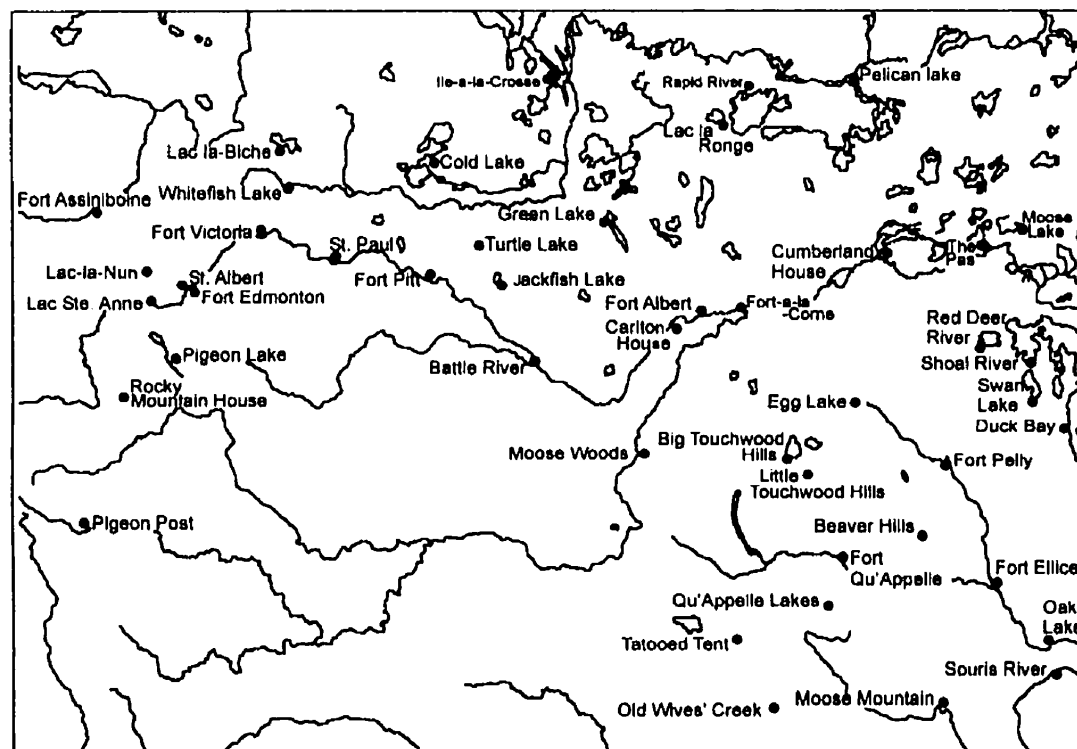
recently, changed (Glassner and de Blij 1989). In North America, however, their "land lust" found an environment where it could thrive (Table 4.1). Frontiers of the Native North American were virtually incomprehensible to Europeans and their powerful, exclusive worldview (Eliades 1987).

Explorers of the 18th and early 19th centuries were often men of the fur trade. Their views and their depictions of the west were those of men looking for specific resources. When furs were found, they attracted traders, when not, they rarely lured any interest and especially not inhabitation of any permanent duration. The value of land was thereby established as its capability to support furs. Such a view ensured that southern portions of the Canadian west would remain marginal to the initial ecumene of Europeans (Figure 4.2). Little if any interest was expressed in these areas except (as the fur trade ranged further westward) as a supply-house for pemmican<sup>4</sup>, the food of the fur trade.

The southern Canadian west remained outside the sphere of interest of most eastern Canadians until trips were undertaken by various "scientific" teams. They were to assess the region's agricultural and mineral potential for the British and later the Canadian government. These treks would both influence and direct the interests of both the



**Figure 4.2: Fur Posts and Missions at Mid-19th Century**



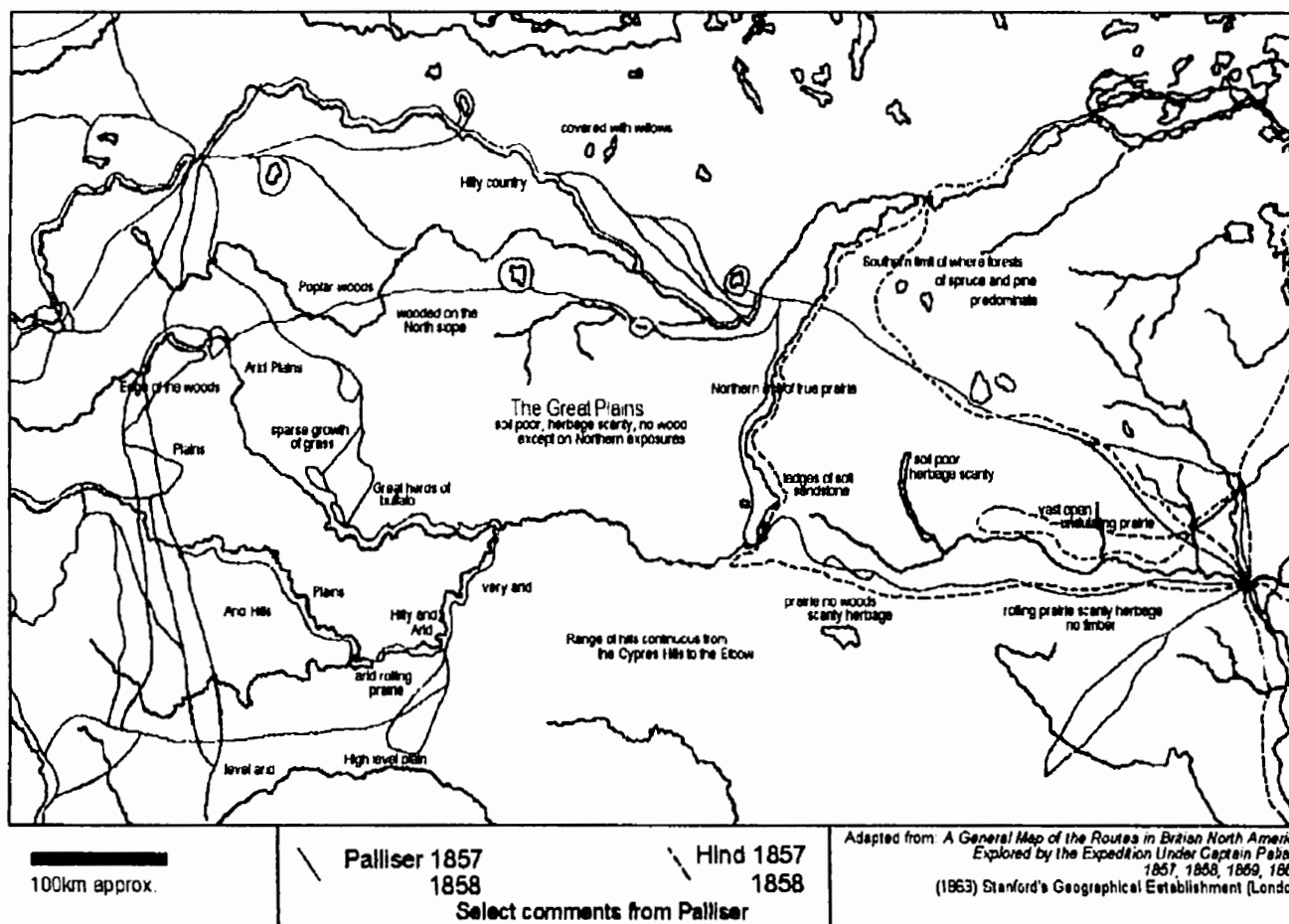
200 km approx

Adapted from Warkentin 1991; Moodie et al. 1993; Milne 1994

British and eastern Canadians<sup>5</sup> (Figure 4.3). Impressions and reports tabled were often quite different from one another (Palliser and Hind for example). Conclusions were often coloured by excessively dry or wet years, a common condition in any semi-arid, continental climate (Warkentin 1997). In 1857-58, John Palliser led the first of the scientific explorations to the west. Funded by the British government, which was, at this time, interested in the immediate future of the Hudson Bay Company, the expedition "amassed astronomical, meteorological, geological and magnetic data, and described the country, its fauna and flora, its inhabitants and its capabilities for settlement and transportation" (Spry 1985, 1356). Palliser's conclusions launched and ensured the belief in the existence of an area unsuitable for agricultural settlement later known as Palliser's Triangle. From this expedition, certain Canadian (and British) attitudes towards the west, especially the south, developed. As Kaye and Moodie (1973: 19) observe, "It is not too much to say that the reports written by the members of the Palliser and Hind-Dawson expeditions laid the basic conceptual framework for our present interpretation of the physical geography of Western Interior Canada". These



Figure 4.3: Scientific Exploration in the North-West 1857-1859



beliefs ensured that arid areas of the west were avoided while others, especially the Parklands, were considered as hospitable, appropriate places for agricultural communities.

By the middle of the 1800s, Metis had moved into all western prairie areas and built both permanent communities and seasonal habitations (see Figure 3.4, page 77). Many more migrated to the North-West Territories following the events and aftermath of the Red River 'insurrection' or 'rebellion' of 1870. While before 1870, Manitoba (then known as the Red River Settlement) had been administered by the Hudson's Bay Company (see pages 66-67) as part of Rupert's Land, provincial status had been shaped chiefly through the actions of the Red River Metis. However, the events of the rebellion seemed to have impelled the Canadian government to treat the Metis as undesirables in their native province (see Chapter 3). The result was that many Metis left for regions further west (Sprague 1988; Flanagan 1990; Giraud 1956 and Beal and Macleod 1984). These western regions were not unknown. *Hivernant* settlements had existed for decades. Along major rivers a cadastral system based on long lots had evolved, trade with U.S. settlements was rather well-articulated, especially between Winnipeg and St. Paul, Minnesota, socio-cultural institutions, notably the Roman

Catholic Church, had come to exist and a legal code of Metis design had begun to emerge. Although settlers had varied seasonal occupations apart from farming, agricultural "colonies" were founded during the 1870s at St. Albert (1871), Qu'Appelle (1871), and St. Laurent (1873) (Thomas 1978: 82). Presumably, there were boundaries around these places, demarcated by both land use and the local cadastral system. The maintenance and promotion of these institutions and traditions would, however, lead to conflict when they clashed with incoming settlers.

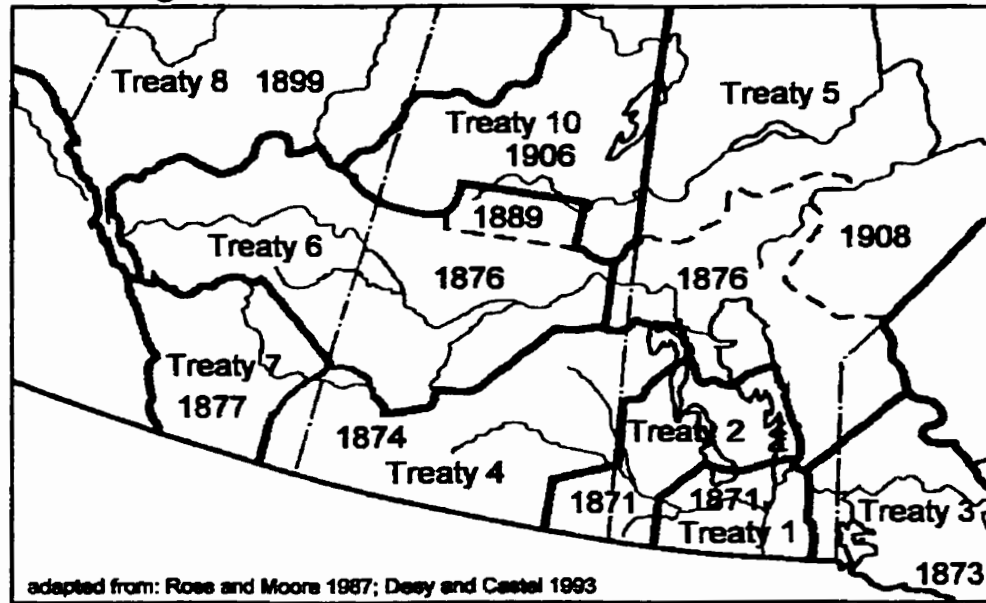
With Canada's purchase of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory from the British in 1870, the west came under the political, social and economic aegis of the Dominion of Canada. Before the purchase, the British government had negotiated a settlement with the United States that ensured the integrity of the southern border. The Forty-Ninth Parallel was established by treaty between the two powers in 1818. It had been formed initially by the boundaries of the Hudson Bay Company and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) between France and Britain. While at first glance the boundary seems "unnatural", it corresponds very closely to natural boundaries of the major drainage basin. As Clark (1970: 327) observes:

The 49th Parallel comes as close as any east-west line could have done to dividing the lands draining to Hudson Bay from those draining to the Gulf of Mexico and so, it happened, of dividing the American from the British fur trade in the nineteenth century.

Such a line divided the free-booter fur traders, the mountain-men, the men of the rendezvous, and whiskey trade of the western U.S.A. from the mercantile interests of the HBC. As Kaye and Moodie (1973: 22) noted, "the Forty-Ninth Parallel accorded political recognition to what was, in effect, a physiographical, historical and economic divide across the interior grassland." But the legacy of early boundary making in the west did not stop at the creation of the international frontier.

Territorial expansion was not the only means whereby Canadians began to impose their vision of the west. The 1800s saw the enactment of legislation and treaty making processes throughout the region. Treaties were signed relegating Native people to reserves, often far away from traditional areas of life and often against the peoples' wills. Through treaties and the provisions that the government had (military and food) in enforcing them, the cultural boundaries of the west were redrawn. (Figure 4.4).

**Figure 4.4: Indian Treaties and Locations**



As importantly, treaties granted control by Canadian authorities over those who lived there, a power that was continually exercised. Harris (1992: 67) sees in this an essential element of control:

the land system itself became the most powerful single agent of disciplinary power. It defined where people could and could not go as well as their rights to land use, and it backed these rights, as need be, with sovereign power.

Further Harris raises the spectre of just what could happen should such discipline be ignored or resisted.

The North-West Territories were known, land was claimed through international precedent and the "Indian problem" was solved through negotiation rather than through widespread

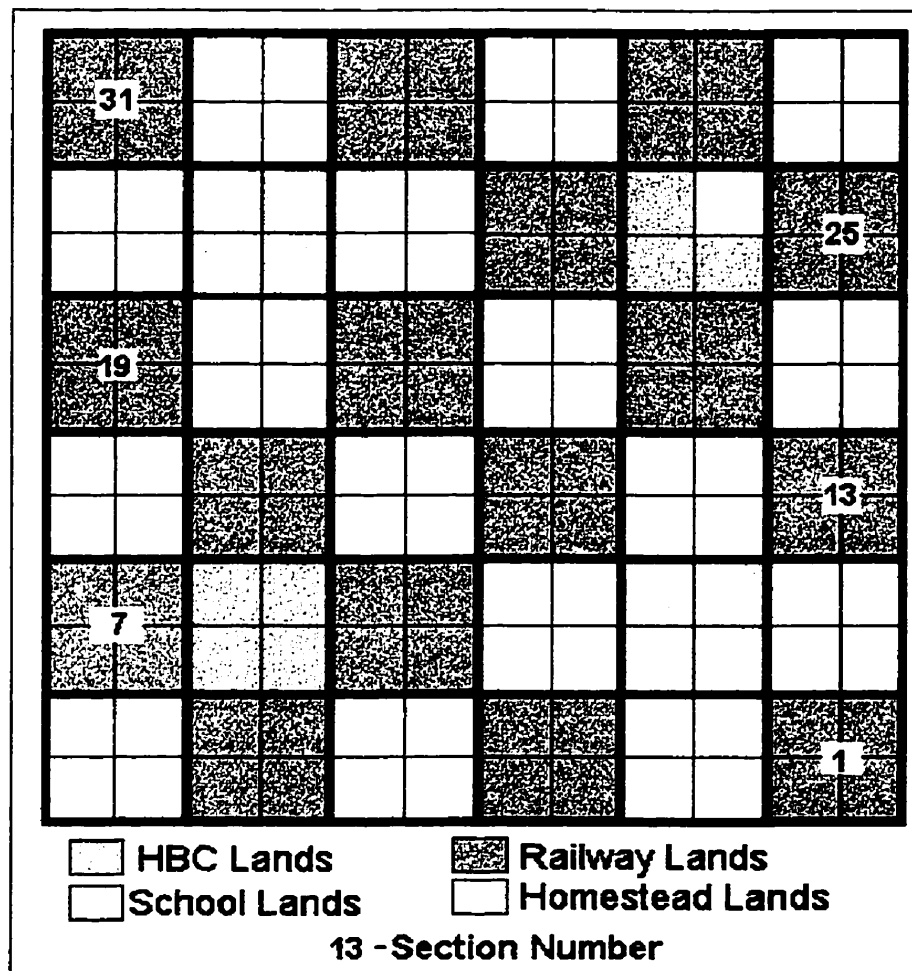
warfare. The west had become, in the eyes of the European world, Canadian. It remained for Ottawa to exert complete control over the shape, dissemination and regulation of land. Through the drawing of non-existent, yet powerful lines, Canada would exert its power over a vast area.

#### **4.3 The Land Survey**

By 1874, surveyors completed the survey of the 49th parallel started in 1869 (MacGregor 1981). Parties of both Americans and Canadians marked it with cairns and other man-made structures where they established key lines of longitude<sup>6</sup>. These markings and the measurements associated with them would enable Canadians to begin the process of surveying western lands as a precondition of distributing them to agricultural immigrants. In 1868, the Dominion Land Survey was established by a federal Order-In-Council almost one year before surveying began in the west. However, events in Red River that year and throughout 1870 prevented its widespread application until 1871. By then the township and range system, much like that of the western U.S.A. was applied. Richtik (1975: 617) observes that: "The proximity of the American west with its free homesteads made it almost essential that Canada should adopt a similar system

if the Canadian west was to receive any settlers." While the Dominion Land Survey went through a number of changes, especially in the number of acres of each section (Martin 1973; Richtik 1975), it enabled the division of western lands among the HBC, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and homesteaders, and set aside two sections in each township for the future of local education. (Figure 4.5).

**Figure 4.5: The Township and Range System**

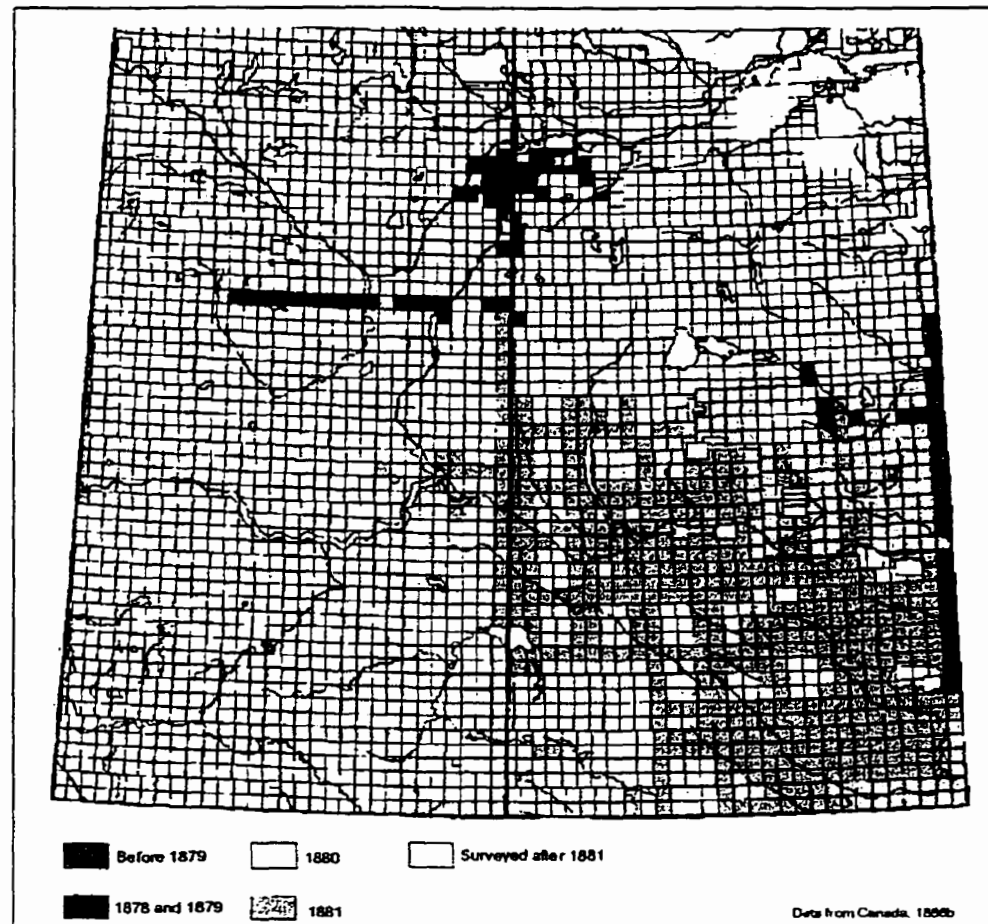


adapted from Martin 1967

By 1881, many parts of the North-West Territories (and of potential settlement) had already been surveyed (Figure 4.6). Each had been divided into 36 square mile sections. The allocation process under the federal Homestead Act of 1876 had begun (Martin 1973; Richtik 1975). A principle was that the first lands surveyed had been settled earlier (Grismer 1981). Hence early survey maps appear "spotty". Squatters, who occupied lands before the Dominion's survey, obtained formal ownership after having their land surveyed. Even so, one particular group, the Metis of St. Laurent, felt insecure in their tenure (Payment 1990b). Their insecurities were undoubtedly linked to previous experiences in Red River (see Chapter 3). Throughout the decade of the 1870s requests of both Qu'Appelle and St. Laurent groups to have their long lots surveyed in their original, *traditional* shape fell on the deaf ears of the federal government which wanted western lands surveyed under the township and range system (Street 1944). In 1875, thirty men of Qu'Appelle signed a petition wherein they asked for "the right of keeping the lands which they have taken or which they may take along the River Qu'Appelle" (Canada 1875: 31). Such grievances became one focal point of the Northwest Rebellion. Obviously, land, especially its



Figure 4.6: Surveyed Lands 1881



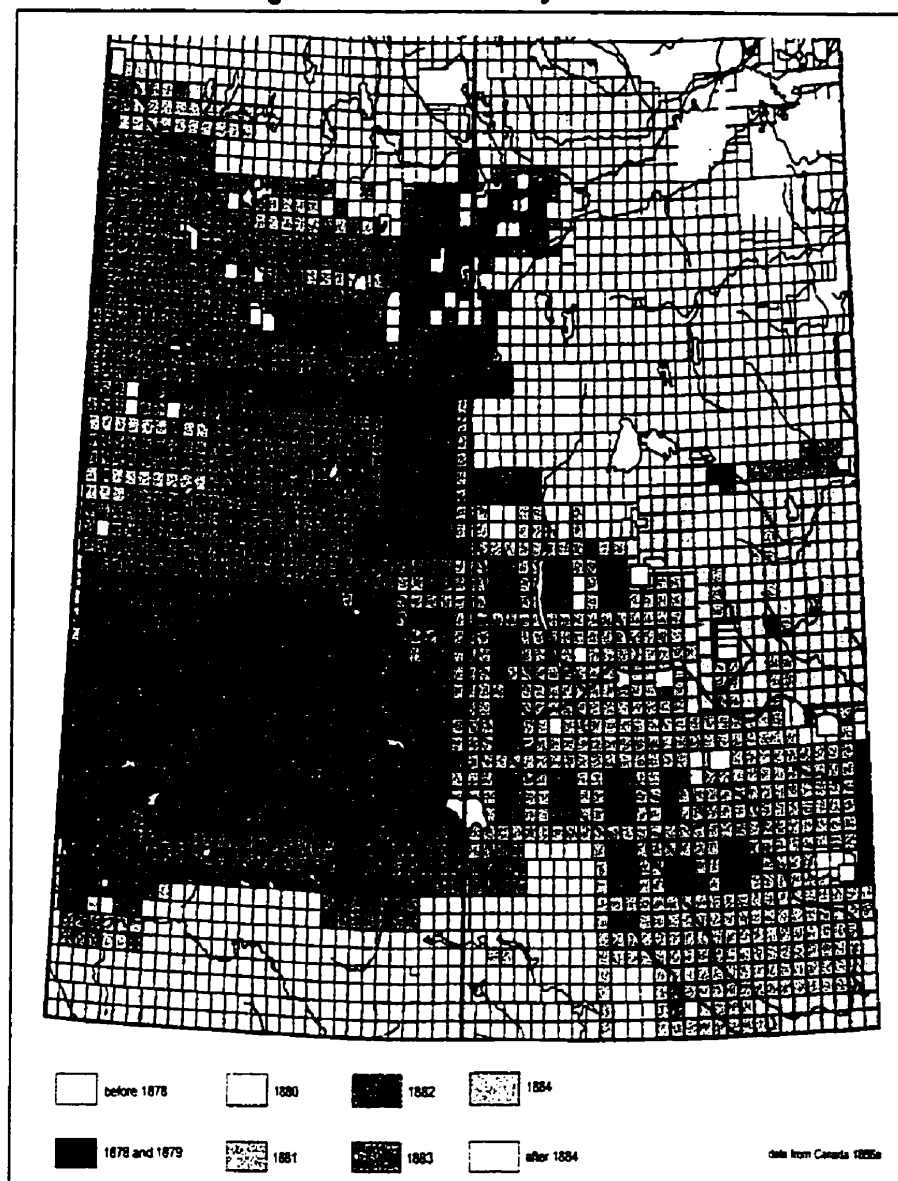
manner of division and ownership, was a powerful motivator in the actions of the Metis leadership and people in 1885. The start of the 1880s saw surveyors make unprecedented progress throughout the west (Figure 4.7). The years 1881, 1882, and 1883 were years of particularly great expansion of the survey, when hopes and dreams of grand Canadian expansion ran high. The Reverend Aeneas McDonnell Dawson's (Dawson 1881: 11) words stand as testament to the feelings of many about the west's future:

The countries of the Saskatchewan are at length thrown open to colonization. They have been until our time among the waste places of the earth. They now belong to those portions of the earth's surface hitherto untenanted save by the denizens of the forest and the wild prairie land, which mankind, in obedience to a high command, are destined to occupy and fill. In support of this position the weight of authority is on our side.

Except for the extreme south, prairie lands ranging from approximately 50° to 55° North had been surveyed by the end of 1883's season. Areas that were deemed inappropriate for agriculture (those that were in the "Great American Desert", for example) were avoided by the surveyors (Canada 1884; 1886b).

Lands near settlements like Prince Albert, Edmonton, Battleford, and Qu'Appelle had been divided and primed for settlement. All that was needed to make this 'settled' were

Figure 4.7: Land Surveyed Post 1881



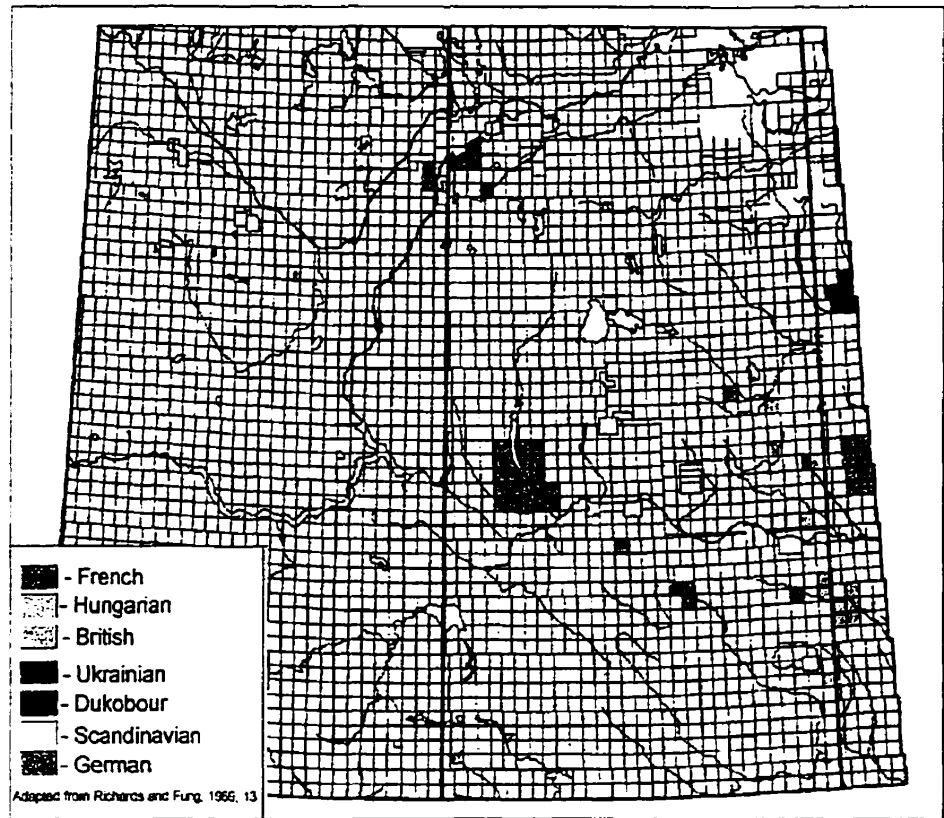
immigrants; however, people did not arrive in the numbers that had been optimistically forecast. Rail construction delays, scandals, world-wide economic problems, European political troubles, and the aftermath of the American Civil War (and subsequent Indian Wars of the U.S. west) all prevented large numbers of homesteaders from coming to the newly opened regions of Canada. Areas that had been imagined to be great blocks of immigrant settlement were created (Figure 4.8). As Richtik (1975: 624-625) states:

In an effort to attract foreign-born settlers...the Canadian government began establishing exclusive reserves...reserves were created for Swedish, Scottish, English, Welsh and German settlers, but none of the reserves was of any importance and all had disappeared by 1879.

Massive immigration did not materialize until much later in the 1890s (Table 4.2). Only then, would large blocks of the west be settled by immigrants, many of who were eastern Europeans.

Ottawa thought that by surveying western Canada large-scale settlement would begin. However, a large-scale influx of settlers did not occur. Simply drawing imaginary lines did not create a land rush. But the legacy of the surveyors' influence, both in directly readable landscape manifestations (road patterns, town distances, field sizes)

Figure 4.8: Group Settlements to 1891



**Table 4.2: Immigration to the North-West, 1866 – 1905**

	<b>Saskatchewan</b>	<b>Alberta</b>
before 1866	1,146	594
1866-70	369	313
1871-75	1,147	519
1876-80	981	559
1881-85	3,060	1,550
1886-90	4,756	2,980
1891-95	6,093	5,747
1896-00	18,099	15,930
1901-05	71,150	55,883

Source: Canada (1911)

and in indirect social influences (isolation, self-sufficiency and even mental illness have been linked to their existence and distances apart: Allen 1973). This legacy lasts to the present. Clearly, the influence of these lines was deep. As Kaye and Moodie (1973: 33) have observed:

As was common to many parts of Canada, the surveyor preceded the settler. [But] In no other part of the country however, has the cultural landscape been more completely patterned by the land and railway surveys than by the settlers themselves.

The imposition of a strict, true grid system on any landscape can be seen as the overlay of a human-constructed and scaled model. Straight lines, intersecting at right angles, ending at particular graticule points and jogging at correction lines are not part of the natural environment. That they then guide agricultural settlement,

an activity whereby people try to earn a living working on and with the land, can only be seen as ironic. For farming, which entails a large set of very specific relationships between people and the natural environment, to be based on planar geometry is an overwhelming manifestation of the modernist project. By trying to force the grasslands, wetlands, lakes, rivers, boreal forests and coulees of the west into a conveniently distributed, assigned and divided map, Canada tried to impose its rationalist idea of order and organization onto the landscape. Morton (1973:16) observes that the division of western Canada's land was a most influential event:

Nothing could have been more alien to the land survey and communal convention of the old Northwest, than, in the abstract, the square survey and the individual homestead. The river lot survey, of Red River, similar to, perhaps adopted from that of Quebec, was a basic part of the metis way of life. It gave access to water, access to the plains behind, and shelter and fuel in the winter. It was a response at once to the climate and the customary life of the community. The new survey introduced the American pattern of geometric indifference to natural features or social customs. Its sole virtues were economic; it was cheap to make and reduced litigation. It was itself an economic concept; it treated land as a commodity to be cut and sold like broadcloth on a counter. It was emphatically not an expression of social community, much less the cradle of a race. The square survey was rather the sieve through which people would be shaken into mixed and diverse settlement. It was to a degree hostile to ethnic grouping, and in general

a preparation for an individualistic and assimilative society.

Simply by drawing lines on maps, surveyors and land agents alike made their attempts to subjugate and impose order on the land. Humans could conquer nature.<sup>8</sup>

#### **4.4 Domestic Boundaries and Regions**

While the 1870s saw the delineation of the international boundary and surveying of property lines for homesteads and settlements, internal division of the North-West Territories into land registration districts and other regional units took place throughout the 1880s (Table 4.3).

Previous to the creation of the Province of Manitoba, the most important regions of the west were the HBC's fur trade districts (Warkentin 1991, Figure 4.9A). As population and administrative demands grew through the century, more internal divisions were deemed necessary by Ottawa and the Territorial governments. The North-West was divided into different units, for different purposes.

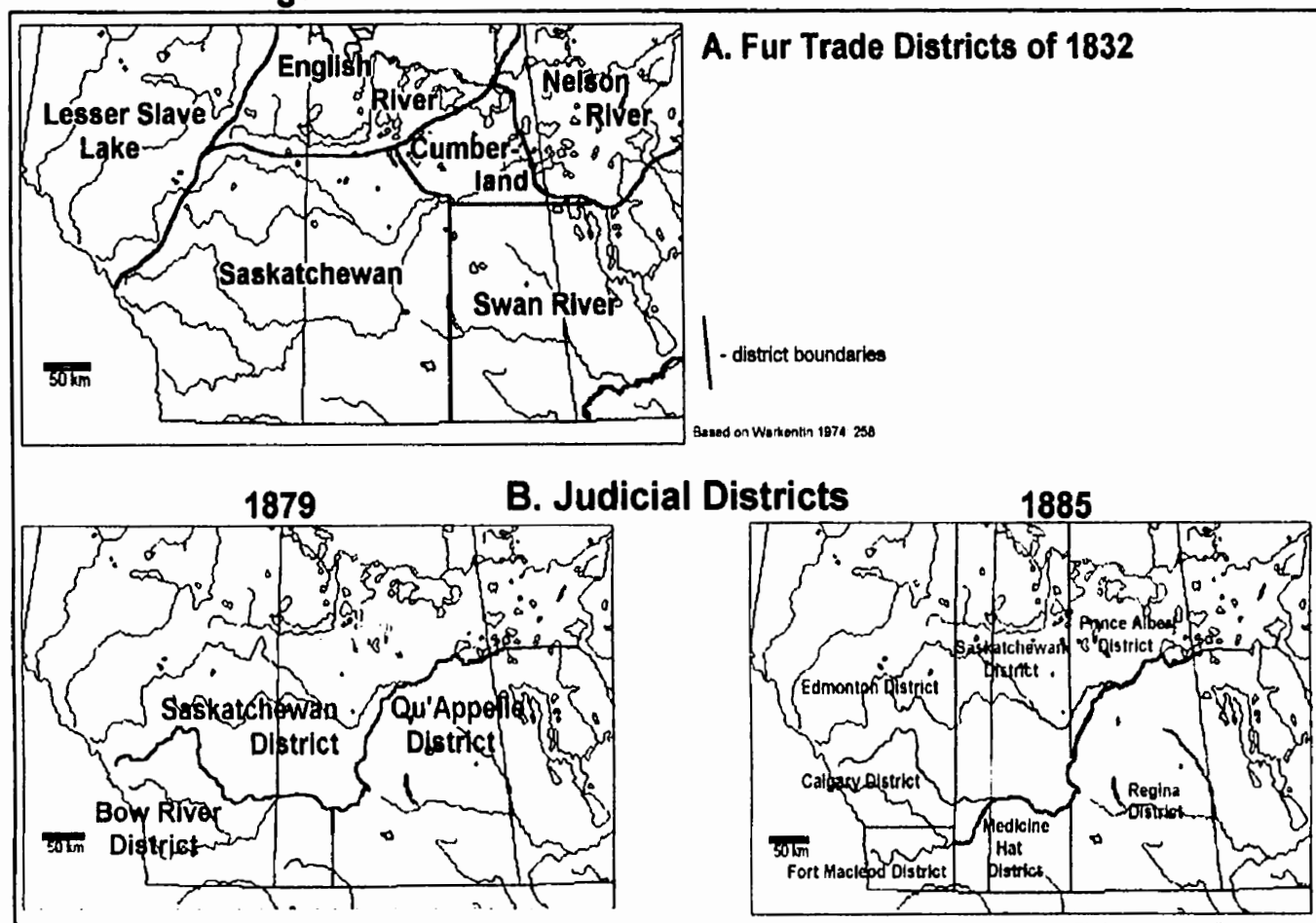
Dating from the creation of the "Postage Stamp" Province of Manitoba in 1870, the internal organization of the North-Western Territory began to change. Three significant developments occurred, first, in 1870; the name



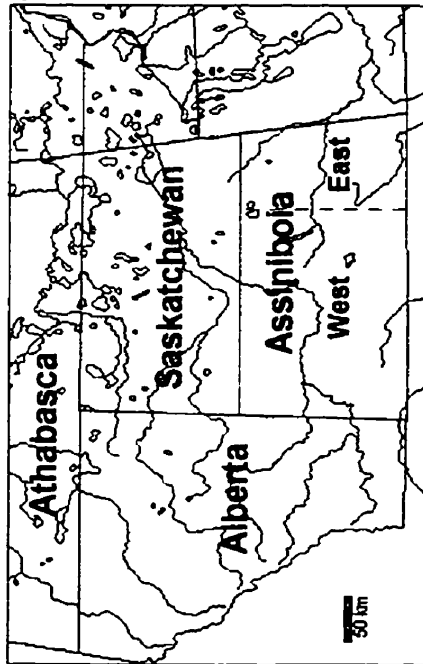
Table 4.3: Regional Divisions of Western Canada 1832 - 1891

DATE	REGIONAL DIVISION	EXPLANATION/SOURCE
1832	Fur trade districts of the Hudson's Bay Company.	See Figure 4.10A. Note that these are "fuzzy" boundaries. Based on Arrowsmith's map of 1832 (Warkentin 1991: 258).
1870	Manitoba created as the "Postage Stamp" province.	Act of Federal Parliament. Conclusion of "Riel Rebellion".
1877	Prior to 1877 Fort Livingstone was administrative centre of N-W T. Switched to Battleford which becomes "capital".	Battleford becomes site for all transactions in real property within the Territory. By end of year, it is deemed too inconvenient to have only one centre.
	New Land Registration offices opened in Westbourne and Dufferin to serve incoming settlers.	(Canada 1875: 8)
1878	4 Judicial Districts created – Assinibola East, Assinibola West, Alberta and all the rest of Saskatchewan and N-WT - by Order-In-Council.	See Figure 4.10B. (Canada 1879: iv) and (Canada 1884: 17)
1880	3 Electoral Districts created – Moosimin, Wallace and Lorne – to return members to N-W T. Legislative Assembly.	Western areas of Moosimin and Wallace would later be incorporated into Manitoba (see below) leaving N-WT with only one M.P. (Canada 1882b: v).
1881	Province of Manitoba is enlarged – incorporates settlements of Turtle Mountain, Little Saskatchewan, Rapid City, Birtle and Birdtail Creek. Areas of former Moosimin and Wallace electoral Districts are now part of Manitoba.	Dominion Act of July 1, 1881 (Canada 1882:iv)
	Election held in District of Lorne to return member to Legislature. Laurence Clarke wins election.	Lorne is area in and around Prince Albert (Canada 1882:v). Clarke was former Chief Factor of HBC, Prince Albert.
	Census of Canada conducted. N-WT divided into 18 districts, 7 are south of 55° North.	All maps showing census districts of 1881 were lost in Parliamentary fire of 1914.
1882	4 Provisional Districts formed in N-WT – Assinibola, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca.	See Figure 4.10C. Order-In-Council, May 8, 1882 (Canada 1883:vii, legal descriptions of regions xv).
1883	Territorial capital is moved from Battleford to Regina.	
	N-W T. Council elections. 6 Electoral Districts – Edmonton, Lorne, Broadview, Qu'Appelle, Moose Jaw and Regina.	(Canada 1884:xx)
1884	Judicial Districts subdivided into six new areas – Regina, Medicine Hat, Calgary, Fort Macleod, Edmonton, Battleford and Prince Albert.	See Figure 4.10D. Growth in Medicine Hat, Calgary, Fort Macleod and Moose Mountain areas attests to the growth in ranching industry (Canada 1885:6).
	2 new Electoral Districts added to Territorial Assembly – Calgary and Moose Mountain.	(Canada 1885:ii)
	Sheep rearing boundary declared, southwest of which no sheep are to be grazed.	Having seen "wars" break out in the northwest of the U.S.A., N-WT authorities act to prevent the same from happening in Canada (Canada 1885:13).
1885	Special Census of N-WT conducted. N-WT divided into 12 districts.	See Figure 4.10E (Canada 1888a)
	Territorial elections held. 11 regions return 13 elected members. 2 areas have 2 members each.	(Canada 1886: part IV:3)
1886	Assinibola is split into Assinibola East and Assinibola West.	See Figure 4.10B.
1887	4 members returned in N-WT's first Federal election - Assinibola East (Tory), Assinibola West (Liberal-Conservative), Saskatchewan (Liberal-Conservative) and Alberta (Liberal-Conservative)	
1888	Territorial Legislature has 22 members from 18 areas (3 with 2 each).	See Figure 4.10F (Canada 1889: part IV:50).
1891	Census of Canada held. 13 separate areas (one "Unorganized Territories" lies to the north of approximately 55°).	(Canada 1892)

**Figure 4.9: Districts of the North-West Territories**



### C. The Provisional Districts 1882 and 1886



Assinibolia broke into two regions,  
East and West, in 1886.

### D. Census Subdistricts

**1881**

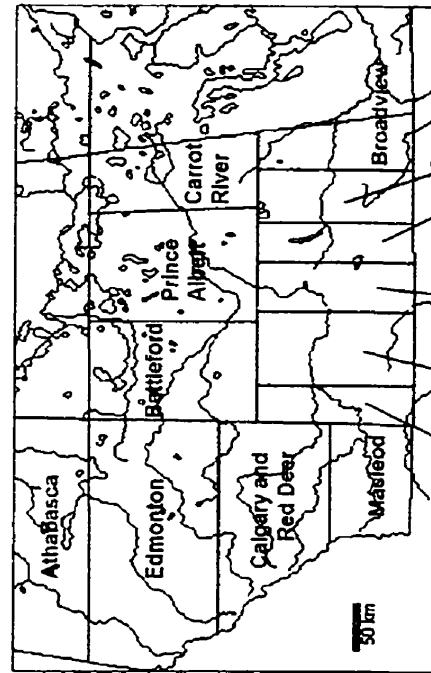
Cumberland South  
Cumberland North  
Qu'Appelle  
Wood Mtn.  
Prince Albert  
Battleford  
Edmonton  
Edmonton North  
Bow River  
Peace River  
Athabasca

**1885**

Calgary and  
Red Deer  
Edmonton  
Macleod  
Broadview  
Qu'Appelle and  
Regina  
Moose Jaw  
Swift Current  
Maple Creek  
Medicine Hat  
Carrot River  
Prince Albert  
Battleford

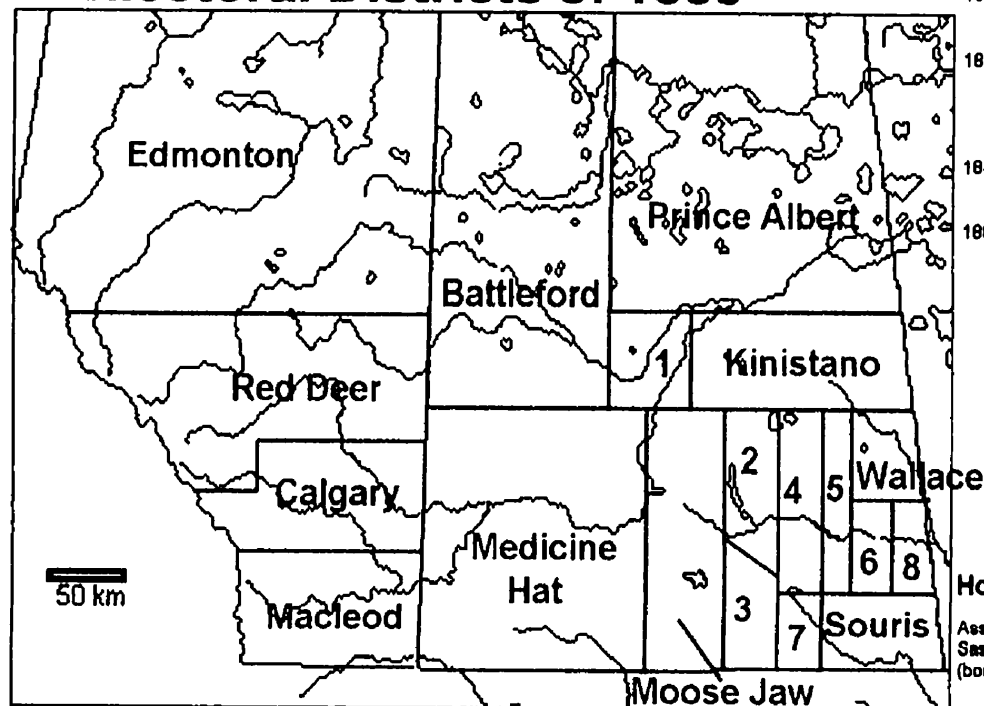
**1891**

Calgary and  
Red Deer  
Edmonton  
Macleod  
Broadview  
Qu'Appelle  
Maple Creek  
Medicine Hat  
Moose Jaw and  
Regina  
Swift Current  
Battleford  
Carrot River and  
Lake Winnipeg  
Prince Albert



**1885 shown** Medicine Hat / Swift Current / Qu'Appelle and Regina  
Maple Creek / Moose Jaw

## E. Electoral Districts of 1888



- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Batoche          | 2. North Regina     |
| 3. South Regina     | 4. North Qu'Appelle |
| 5. Wolseley         | 6. Whitewood        |
| 7. South Qu'Appelle | 8. Moosimin         |

### Territorial Assembly

1880 - one district  
Lorne (Prince Albert)

1883 - 5 districts added  
Edmonton      Broadview  
Qu'Appelle      Regina  
Moose Jaw

1884 - two new added  
Calgary      Moose Mtn.

1885 - re-organization  
Broadview      Macleod  
Edmonton      Moosimin  
Lorne      Regina  
Moose Jaw      St. Albert  
Qu'Appelle      Calgary  
Moose Mtn.

### House of Commons

Assiniboia East      Assiniboia West  
Saskatchewan      Alberta

(boundaries of the Provisional Districts used  
see Figure 4.9C)

of the region was changed to North-West Territories. Second, in 1877, the administrative centre of the territory was moved from Fort Livingstone to Battleford and two new land registration offices (to supplement those already existing at Fort Livingstone and Battleford) were opened in Westburne and Dufferin. Shortly after, early in 1878, four Judicial Districts were created in the west (Figure 4.9B) that lasted six years. In 1884, these were divided into seven Judicial Districts, four of which (Regina, Medicine Hat, Calgary and Fort Macleod) were located in the south where the North-West's population was growing most rapidly.

By 1880, the North-West Territories population warranted the creation of three Electoral Districts. These areas met the Canadian standard for representation in the Territorial Assembly. The standard declared:

As soon as districts of one thousand square miles contain a population of one thousand, exclusive of aliens and Indians, they are to be constituted Electoral Districts and return a member (quoted in Robertson 1887: 97).

However, within a year, the Province of Manitoba was enlarged by Ottawa (Dominion Act, July 1, 1881) to include significant portions of what were once the Electoral Districts of Wallace and Moosimin, North-West Territories. As a result, the North-West was left with only one

representative in the Territorial Assembly at Battleford, the member representing Lorne. However, in 1883, there were six Electoral Districts. As settlers arrived, the number of elected representatives increased. For example, in 1884, there were eight, in 1885 eleven (with thirteen members) and in 1888 twenty-two members were returned from nineteen separate districts (Figure 4.9E).

In 1881, the *Census of Canada* divided the North-West Territories into eighteen separate census districts. Seven of these were south of latitude fifty-five degrees. These were: Qu'Appelle, Cumberland South, Wood Mountain, Prince Albert, Battleford, Edmonton and Bow River. Unfortunately, the boundaries of these regions cannot be established<sup>9</sup>. However, the names and presumed locations of these districts show that up to 1881 a northerly population distribution, one that still reflected the settlement pattern of the fur trade, was found on the prairies. When compared to the *Special Census* districts of 1885 and the districts of the *Canada Census 1891* (Figure 4.9D), it becomes clear that the south, especially areas along the mainline of the CPR, was where the majority of new census districts were located.

In May of 1882, four "Provisional Districts" were created (Figure 4.9C). Later, in 1886, Assiniboia was split into East and West districts. The federal government created these districts "in view of the increasing population and for greater convenience in regard to postal and other matters" (Canada 1883: vii). Nicholson (1979: 116) maintains that they were created for "federal, administrative, and postal service purposes" but that they "were rarely referred to in the local legislature". These "provisional" districts were not legally defined Canadian provinces, nor were they legal territories, but before 1905, and the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, they were the North-West's clearest internal boundaries. In 1905, for many, they had the potential to become western provinces. Assiniboia, Athabasca, Saskatchewan and Alberta were strong vernacular regions for the local inhabitants since they had existed for more than 20 years before provincial status arrived on the prairies. As Brennan (1985: 363) puts it "these provisional districts never became independent jurisdictions...[but] they did provide the focus for a sense of 'district consciousness' among territorial residents.

#### **4.5 The State of the North-West - Early 1880s**

According to the 1881 Census of Canada, the southern part of the North-West Territories was a region of 25,815 people spread from the western and northern borders of Manitoba to the crests of the Rocky Mountains (Figure 4.10). There was a near-balance between males and females. People were rather evenly distributed between the census districts, with a slight emphasis on more northern, parkland zones. However, within these census districts there were large areas that remained virtually uninhabited.

Birthplaces and origins of the people of the North-West reveals the dominance of "country-born" folk, with every district showing a clear majority of its population as born in the "North-West" or of "Indian" origin. Prince Albert, Qu'Appelle, Battleford and Wood Mountain have a number of people born in Manitoba which, along with significant numbers of "French" origin, reflects a measure of the Metis diaspora of the 1870s. All other groups have only minor representation although "Ontario" as a birthplace and "English" and "Scottish" as places of origin are in evidence.



Figure 4.10: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1881

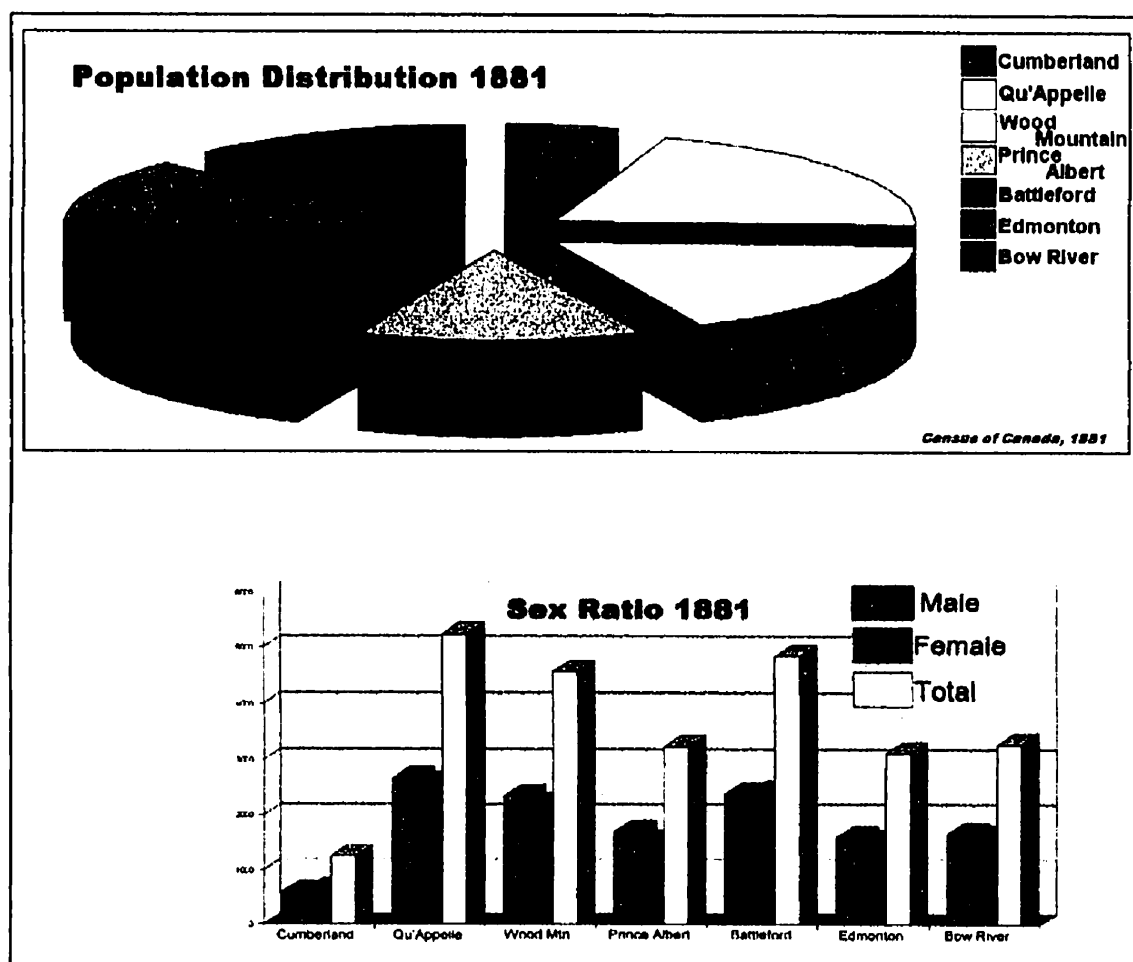


Figure 4.10: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1881

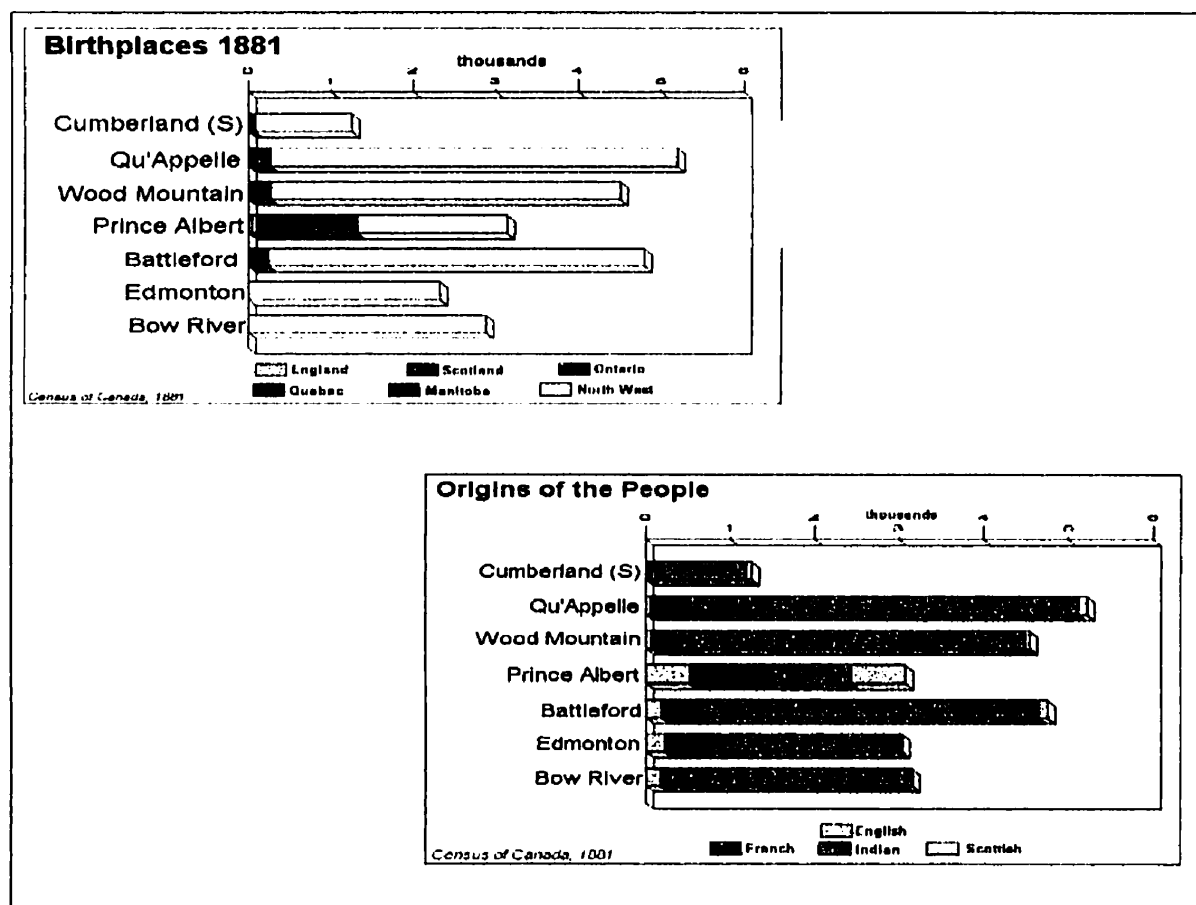


Figure 4.10: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1881

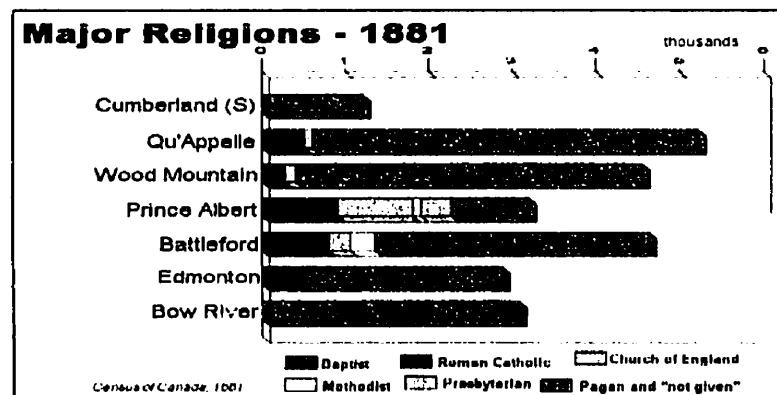
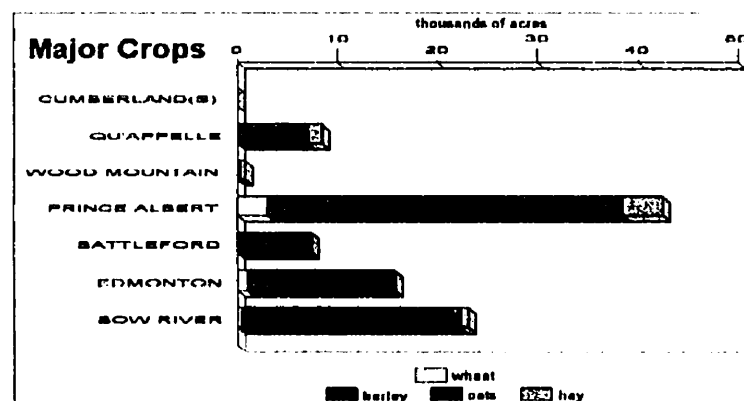


Figure 4.10b: Crops of 1881



The *Census of 1881* categorizes the religions of the North-West Territories. "Pagan" and "Not Given" are dominant, although Roman Catholic, Church of England, Methodist and Presbyterian (in that order) are also apparent.

Major crops grown in the North-West Territories show that wheat and other small grains had not yet become the most important agricultural products (Figure 4.10b). Oats and barley dominate, especially in the two areas with the most acres in crop, Prince Albert and Bow River. All reporting districts (excluding Cumberland) had barley, oats and hay, but Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle did not report any wheat growing. The foothills areas of Bow River had yet to develop as a predominant livestock region which the relatively few acres in hay would suggest.

The *Census of 1881* shows that the North-West Territories was not yet integrated into methods of land use that would later characterize the region. Wheat, as a crop, and ranching, as an activity, did not yet dominate. Large numbers of agricultural immigrants and stockmen had yet to transform the land. The region was not a "wild frontier" either - a balanced sex ratio, even population distribution among the census districts, a locally born and bred

population and an emphasis on mixed agriculture all attest to this.

#### **4.6 The State of the North-West in Mid Decade**

By 1885, the population character of Canada's North-West had changed (Figure 4.11). The population had increased, the sex ratio had changed and new areas were being settled.

By 1885, population characteristics of the North-West Territories changed from only four years previous. The North-West's population had increased from 25,815 in 1881 to 48,362 in 1885. Growing numbers of people in the south and west are shown by the large number of new census districts there. Calgary and Red Deer, Macleod, Moose Jaw, Swift Current, Maple Creek and Medicine Hat were all added and together made-up a great proportion of the total population. While the populations of Edmonton, Broadview, Qu'Appelle and Regina, Battleford and Prince Albert grew, their share of western people clearly declined. Most regions (except Battleford and Carrot River) show a majority of men. Northern districts, however, do display less of a clear majority.

Figure 4.11: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1885

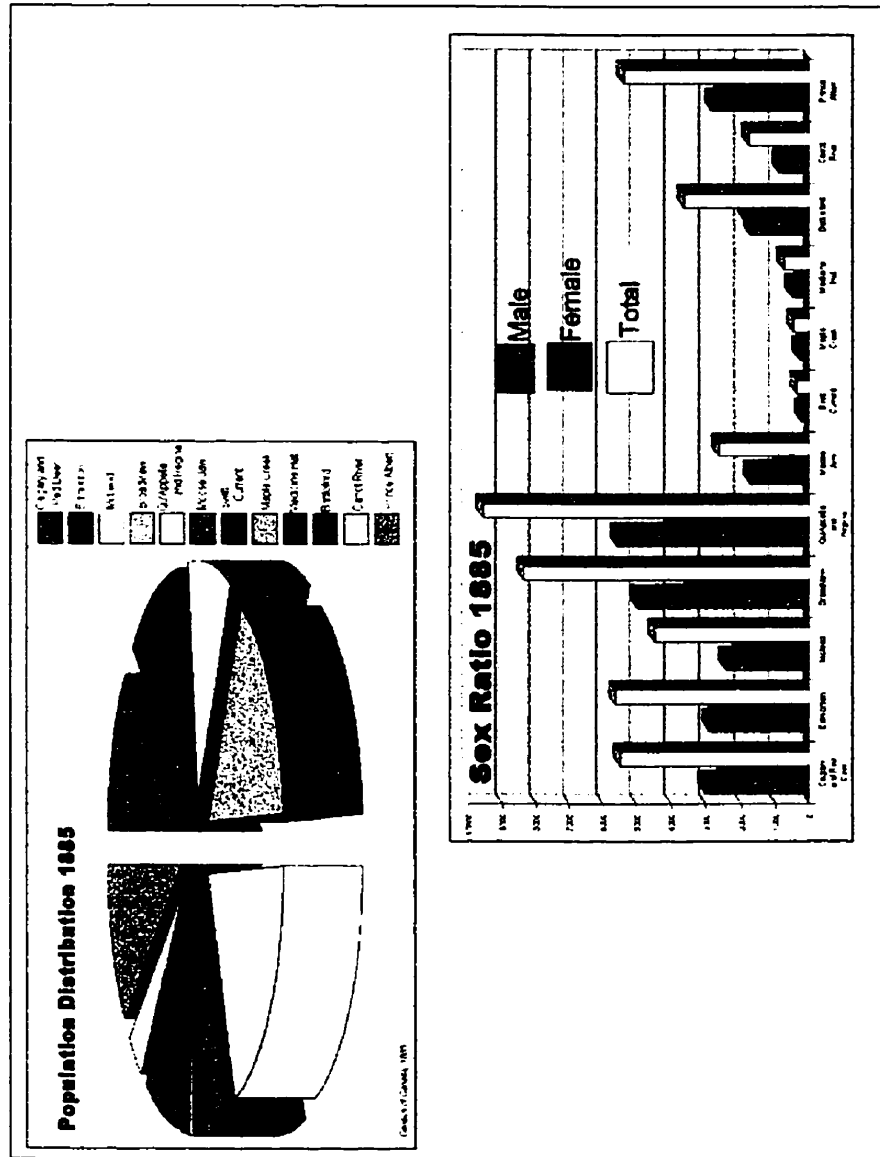
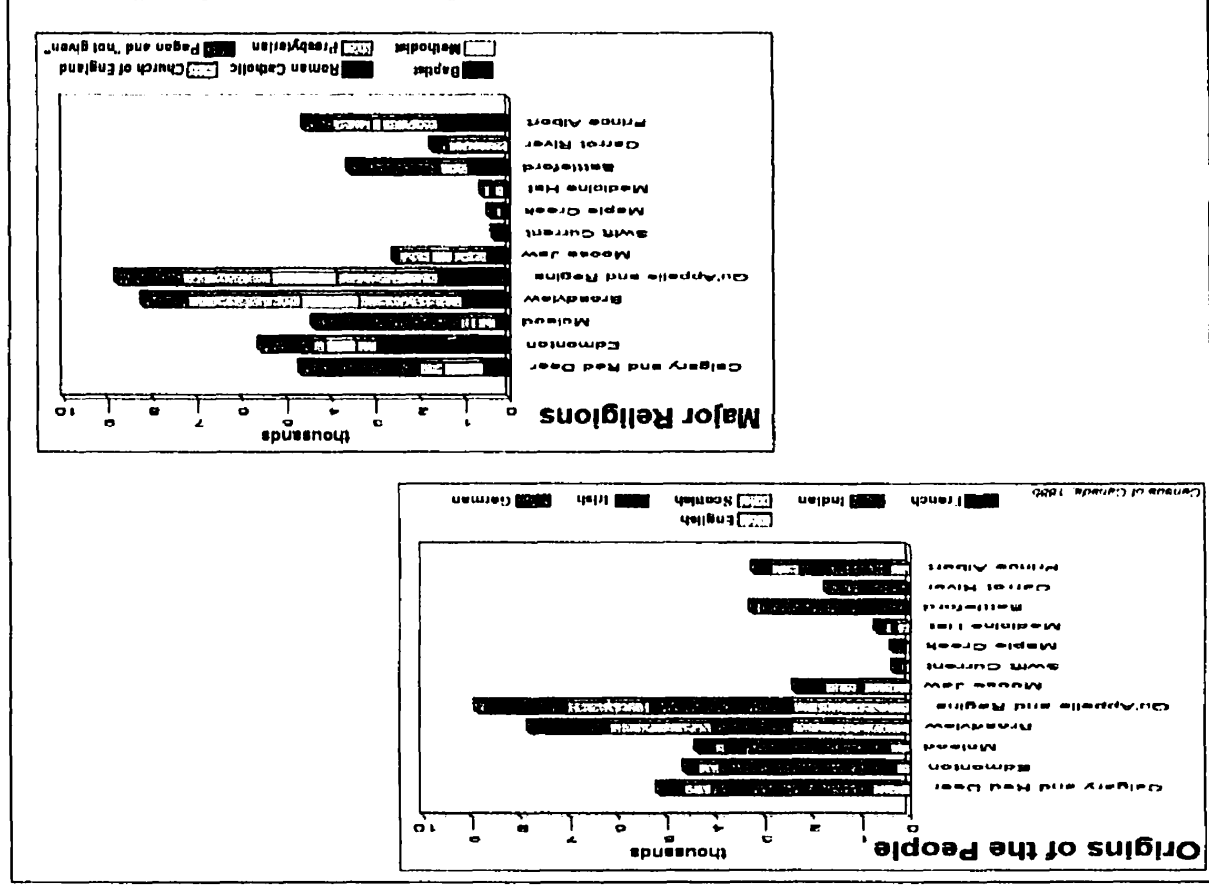


Figure 4.11: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1885



The *Special Census of 1885* did not assess birthplaces (or major crops) but much can be inferred from the "origins" and "religion". While "Indian" and "Pagan" were evident, neither constituted a majority of the population, as had been the case in 1881. "English", "Scottish", "Irish" and, to a lesser degree, "French" origins were there in much greater proportions (and numbers), especially across the south. In Macleod, Calgary and Red Deer, as well as northern districts, "Indian" was a more likely response. Religions became more varied and evenly spread. Districts where origins were shown as "Indian" showed large proportions of "Pagans" but other religions were evenly divided among Roman Catholic, Church of England, Presbyterian and Methodist.

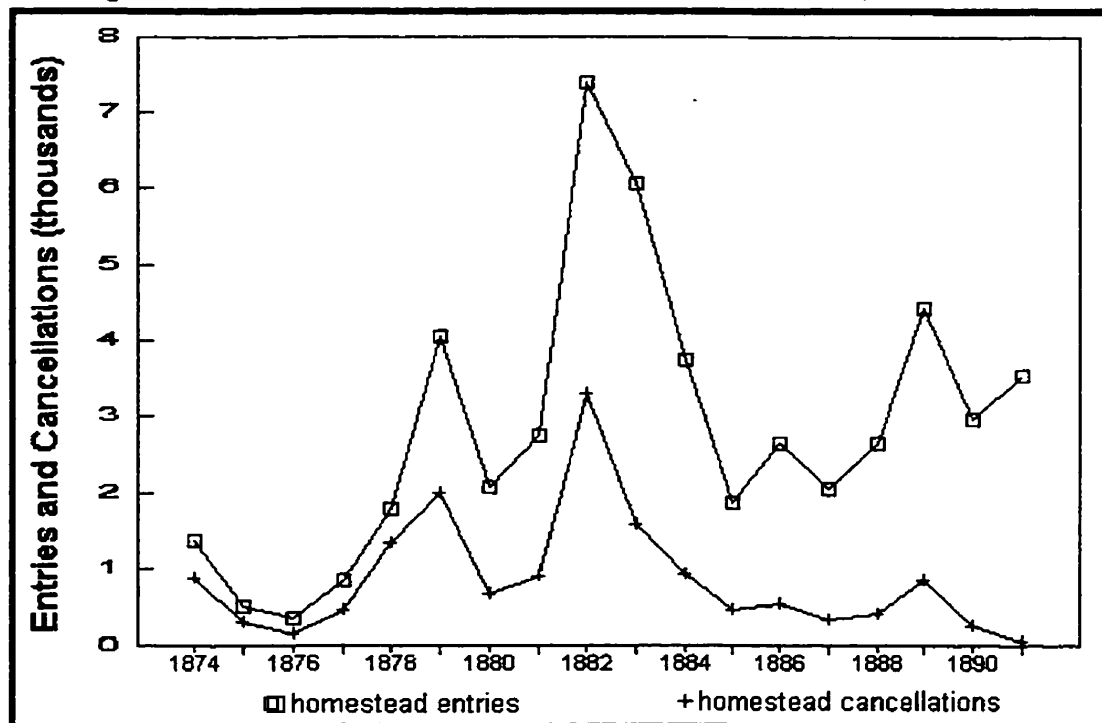
The once dominant fur trade had declined in importance in the parklands and the boreal forest. Census information shows the importance of the Provisional Districts as statistical regions and illustrates the rise of agriculture as a way-of-life. The CPR is clearly an important influence on many facets of day-to-day living. Southern towns were rising in both population and in political clout much more quickly than those areas further north. Populations were growing around Red Deer, Edmonton and Calgary. The railway



had influenced, perhaps forced, homesteaders to locate in southern areas, opening lands adjacent to their mainline and thereby making settlers farm the drylands that had once been thought too arid for agriculture.

Many succeeded as farmers in the dry zone while others did not and they abandoned their homesteads (Figure 4.12). The North-West, especially the railway dominated south, seemed on the verge of a boom in population and economic growth. One reason was bountiful crops. Large grain harvests were reaped because both climate and technology

**Figure 4.12: Homesteads Claimed and Cancelled, 1874-1890**



adapted from Canada 1893

allowed wheat to become the crop-of-choice. As the decade neared its end, Canadian, American, British and continental Europeans began to arrive; the cosmopolitan migration had begun.

#### **4.7 Regional Consciousness**

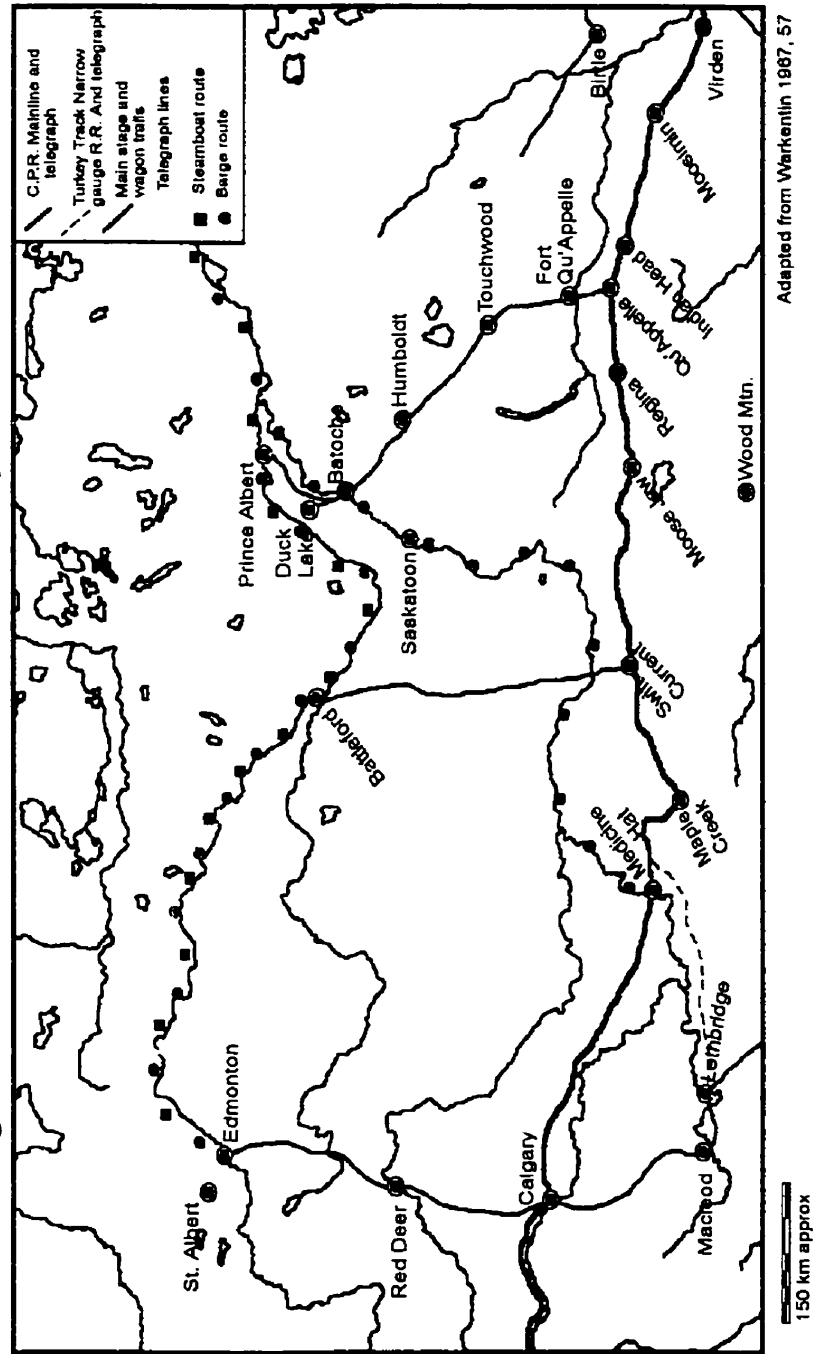
Regional consciousness is formed in many different ways.<sup>10</sup> Formation may occur through processes of communication or through resource use and employment patterns within a region (Thomas 1978: 98). Clearly, the North-West Territories seemed on the verge of a boom in population was relatively immature in its (European) historical development, but aspects of communication and economy were beginning to draw many seemingly disparate groups together into regional entities. For example, the late 1870s and 1880s saw the creation of no less than fourteen local newspapers; *Saskatchewan Herald* (Battleford) 1878, *Edmonton Bulletin* 1880, *Macleod Gazette* 1882, *Prince Albert Times* 1882, *Regina Leader* 1883, *Calgary Herald* 1883, *Moose Jaw News* 1883, *Qu'Appelle Vidette* 1884, *Moosimin Courier* 1884, *Lethbridge News* 1885, *Qu'Appelle Progress* 1885, *Calgary Tribune* 1885, *Medicine Hat Times* 1885, *Regina Journal* 1886 (Thomas 1978: 86). Through the pages of these

sheets, the news of the day and local concerns were spread. They served to unite the population through communication. While each newspaper supported local issues, they also addressed broader issues, too. In this way, these papers served as one factor raising regional consciousness.

Newspaper publication was not the only manner in which communication was enhanced throughout the North-West. A more obvious manifestation of the increased interaction among westerners was the CPR. Completed across the prairies by 1883, the line linked Winnipeg with Calgary, the Kicking Horse Pass and places further west in British Columbia (Figure 4.13). Only later would it be completed through Northern Ontario, create the "All Canadian Line" and allow for increased interaction between the North-West Territories, eastern Canadians and the world. Clearly, the railway was an important development in the transportation and communication environment of the west during the 1880s.

Spanning the south rather than the parklands of the North-West, the CPR played an essential role in the existence of many new towns. Calgary, Brooks, Medicine Hat, Maple Creek, Swift Current, Moose Jaw, Regina, Indian Head, and Brandon, for example, all owe their early growth and

**Figure 4.13: Communication and Transportation, 1886**



Adapted from Warkentin 1987, 57

continuing economic development to the railway. Within these communities, the railway was also a major landowner, meaning that the manner in which they grew was influenced by the interests of the CPR. These communities were also those that housed the workforce of the railway. Dependant on the largesse of the railway for its development and on the employees of the CPR for its population and economic drive, these settlements were, during the 1880s, "company towns", dependant on a single enterprise for their continued prosperity.

An examination of the *Census of Canada* 1881, 1886 and 1891 reveals the profound influence of the CPR on population characteristics across the west (see above). It does not reveal, however, the manner in which the railway directed and affected land ownership and settlement patterns throughout agricultural areas (Martin 1973). Ranging from being the majority owner of land throughout irrigated farmland in southern Alberta to preventing homesteading applications in areas it had "reserved" as lands with "potential", the railway's dominion over the lands of the west was vast.

The CPR, in becoming the paramount means of transportation, replaced older means of transport. Some carting routes (especially Swift Current to Battleford, Qu'Appelle to Duck Lake/Fort Carlton and Macleod to Edmonton - Figure 4.13) remained economically activity until spur lines connected the Parklands with the railway's mainline. These routes, along with their maintenance (Woodcock 1975) provided employment for many Metis.

River travel had long been an essential element of transportation in the west. From the days of birch bark canoes dominating the fur trade, through the adoption of the York boat throughout the HBC's domain, to the latter-day use of river steamers on the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, rivers were the "mainlines" of the day. Initially, the railway did not compete with their routes throughout the parklands, but as lines were laid northward, this mode of transportation fell in importance.

By the time the CPR was completed, the railway was many things to the west: urban developer, communications "provider", land and immigration agent, transportation system and employer. It was the major means whereby goods, services, people and ideas diffused to the North-West (Warkentin 1967 and 1991). The railway allowed for the

communication so essential to the creation of a regional consciousness. Despite this positive feature, the railway became a focal point for western discontent. Its creation, maintenance and continuing growth at the expense of farmers was one manner in which a western regional consciousness was formed.

Within two years after the railway was completed across the southern prairies, the Metis of the St. Laurent-Prince Albert area were increasingly frustrated with the recalcitrance of the federal government to settle their land claims and establish the legal boundaries of their long lots along the South Saskatchewan River. Their frustrations would lead to the Insurrection of March 1885, an event that, through its challenge to the *status quo*, may have consolidated consciousness among new North-West Territories immigrants.

To face the perceived threat of a Metis and Indian uprising, western volunteers for service were raised (Dunn 1994). While the vast majority of troops who fought in Saskatchewan were from eastern Canada, six locally raised groups of "Scouts" and "Militia Corps" also saw some action (Table 4.4). The majority of these men were part of the Alberta Field Force, who, in the earliest days of

rebellion, were recruited in the Calgary area and served in the western most arena of conflict. They comprised about one-third of the men who marched north from Calgary to Edmonton, then on to Frog Lake and Fort Pitt. Described as "Cowboy Corps", depictions of them varied and ranged from "a mob of vigilantes" (Dunn 1994: 34) to "splendid fellows with no military training but accustomed to handling horses and firearms and ready and willing to do what was required

**Table 4.4: Western Participation in the Insurrection of 1885**

<b>Name of group</b>	<b>Headquarters or station</b>	<b>Number of officers</b>	<b>Number of men</b>
Moose Mountain Scouts	South of Qu'Appelle	3	51
Dominion Land Survey Scouts	Qu'Appelle	3	50
Boulton's Scouts	Qu'Appelle (with Middleton)	3	40
Yorkton Militia Corps	Yorkton	2	52
Battleford Volunteer Rifles	Battleford	3	49
Rocky Mountain Rangers	Medicine Hat – High River – Calgary	4	150
Alberta Mounted Rifles	Calgary	2	40+
Steele's Scouts	Ft. Steele – Calgary	2	20+
North-West Mounted Police (N-WMP)	Regina		50
NWMP – Medicine Hat, Maple Creek and South	Fort Walsh		60
NWMP	Fort Macleod		50
NWMP	Calgary		10
NWMP	Edmonton		65
NWMP	Battleford		85
NWMP	Prince Albert		235

Adapted from Dunn 1993



of them" (Jamieson 1931: 13). In seventy days of campaigning, they saw six hours of "skirmishes", suffered six casualties (all wounded) and concluded their adventure by "haphazardly pursuing" Big Bear.

The mobilization of these volunteers, who served with the "regulars", was supplemented by many communities raising a "Home Guard". Fear of local Indian uprisings, especially in southern Alberta and Assiniboia, inspired the creation of these groups. Yet, in spite of all the alarm, they may also have created feelings of solidarity among western settlers and townsfolk. Dunn (1994: 11) observes

The news of an insurrection caused many settlements to immediately form a volunteer Home Guard. In the crisis, communities of stranger 'suddenly became one household' (quotation from Gordon 1903: 9).

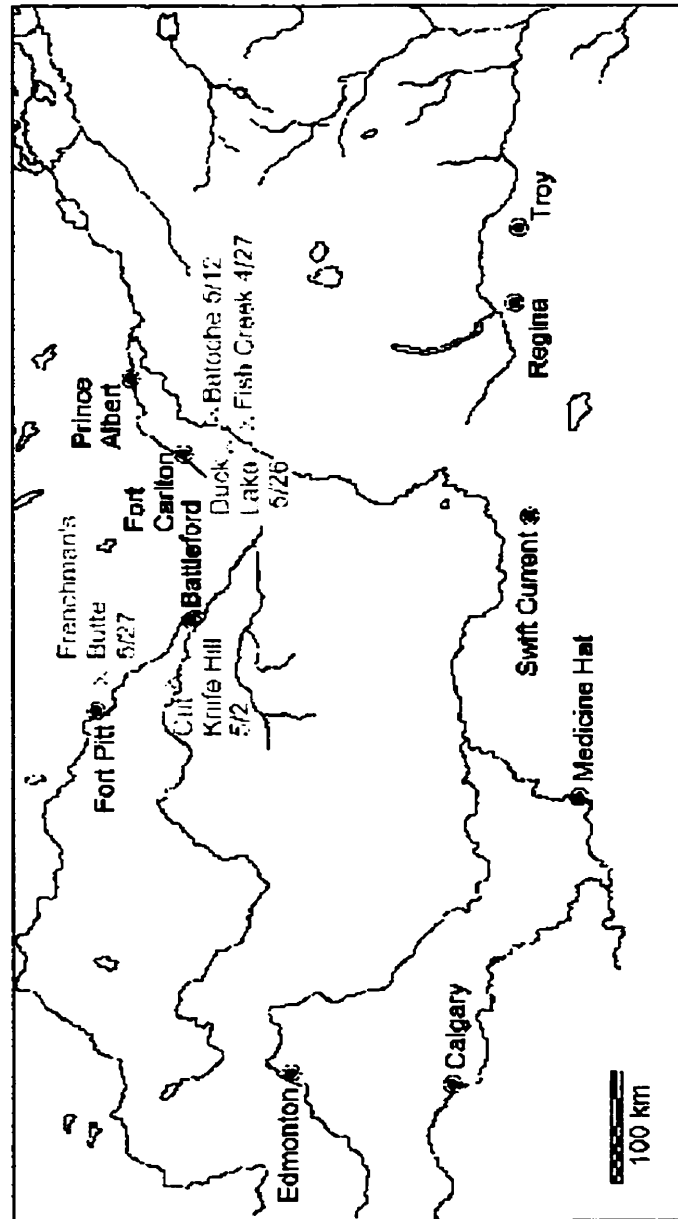
The threat may have caused tremendous worry among westerners but a siege mentality that resulted may have united people against a common "enemy". Singing, flag-waving and mercenary camaraderie accompanied the militia's muster. At such sites, western regionalism was fostered. That few, if any, of these troops saw combat does not negate the transformation of individuals into a group. Upon their returns to homestead, ranch or town lot, these men retained a feeling of togetherness. They began to create

the "myth" of their response to aggression and of repelling an enemy. Strong feelings of regionalism, nationalism and patriotism are forged from such experiences.

Canadians won the Second Rebellion under the leadership of professional soldiers. They defeated the Metis and Indians at battles near Batoche, Duck Lake and Battleford (Figure 4.14). The legacies of the military victories extinguished the role of the Metis in the process of western Canadian development. While the Metis and their long lots remained in the Batoche-St. Louis area,<sup>11</sup> their dream of a Metis homeland was lost. They were throwbacks to a time when an alternate vision of western Canadian development existed. The defeat of Indians and Metis precluded indigenous landscape influences for the late 19th and well into the 20th century. Those who had stamped the landscapes of the west through centuries of inhabitation or through a fur trade lifestyle would be relegated to marginal status.

After the Rebellion, the settlement of the west by homesteaders from eastern Canada, the U.S.A., the British Isles and later from Continental Europe began to accelerate. Newcomers arrived, thereby altering the cultural geography of the region. New sources of *émigrés*,

**Figure 4.14: The Insurrection in the North-West 1885**



Adapted from Beal and Macleod 1984

Mercator Projection

ignored previously, were being actively exploited as the CPR and the Ottawa government opened immigration offices in mainland Europe and actively encouraged more Americans to move north. Group settlement accelerated (Meinig 1965: Richtik 1975: Tracie 1991) and perhaps, more importantly for the southern prairie areas, methods of dry-land farming were being developed and adopted by many moving into those areas. Technology developed, too. Often diffusing from the central plains of the U.S.A. (National Geographic 1991; Kerr and Holdsworth 1990) were windmills, ploughs, cultivators and fencing types (barbed wire for example) all of which facilitated agricultural development. By the latter years of the 1880s, optimism once again seemed to be dominant among promoters of western Canadian settlement. The future looked secure. The grid survey had continued westward and northward, too (see Figure 4.7). After 1884, surveyors charted areas formerly missed by earlier parties and the southern, semi-arid regions, described by Palliser as too dry for farming, were quickly being incorporated into the Canadian ecumene.

While communication and transportation with eastern Canada were developing, economic development such as the

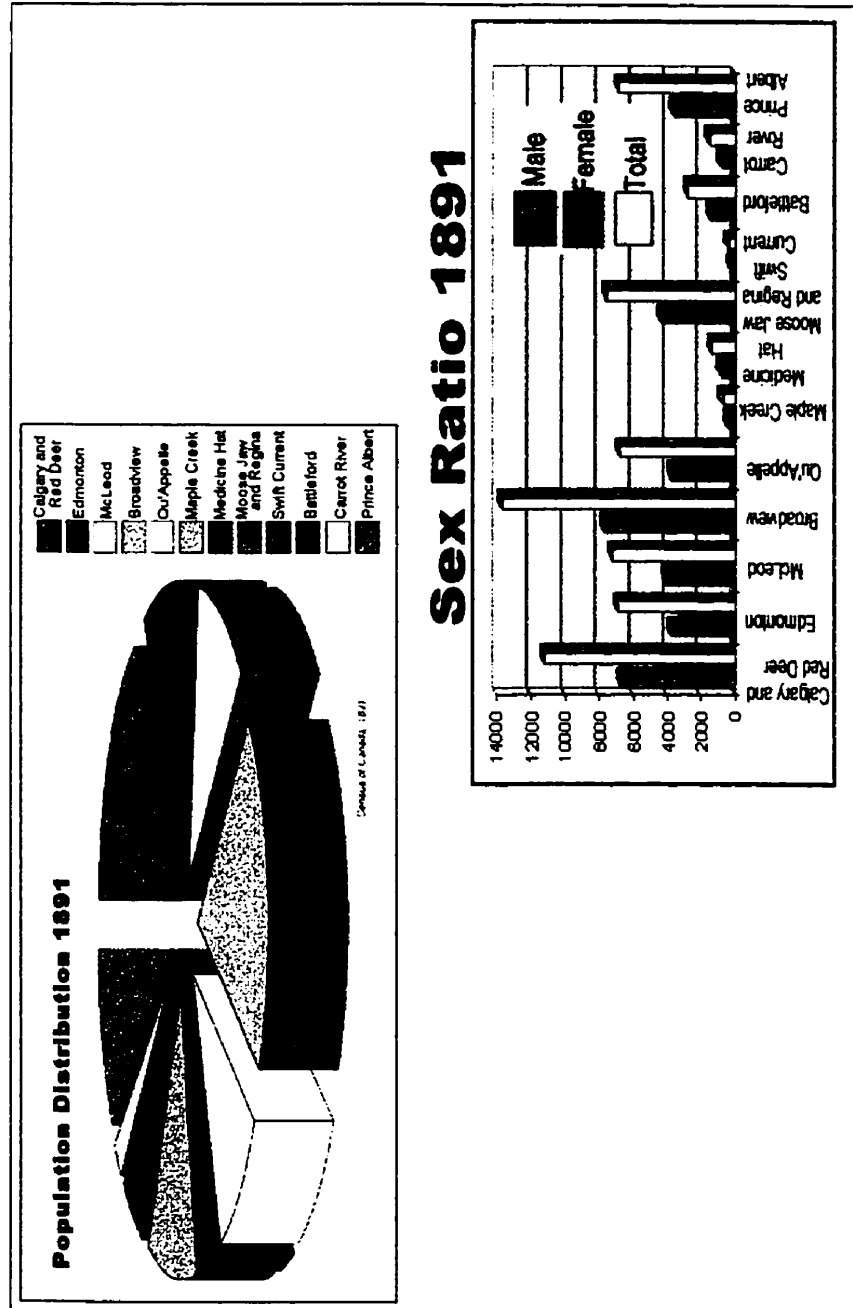
emerging agricultural economy, urbanization and tertiary activities and railway employment contributed to the creation of a regional consciousness. Yet economic developments also began to differentiate areas of the North-West Territories. Such regionalization is most clearly seen in the divisions between cattle raising areas and farming areas. While these economic differences formed, one argument against the creation of a single Prairie province, they also show how economic forces created a western human landscape distinct from that in the East.

#### **4.8 The 1890s**

The long-anticipated immigration boom period eventually arrived. From 1881 to 1891 the population of the southern regions of the North-West Territories increased from 25,815 to 66,799 (Figure 4.15). By 1901, it had grown to 158,940, a 138% increase from 1891 and a 516% increase from 1881. Both domestic and international preconditions for large-scale immigration had been met. People streamed in.

In 1891, Russians and Germans comprised just over 2% of the total population. By 1901, they formed 23% (Tables

Figure 4.15: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1891



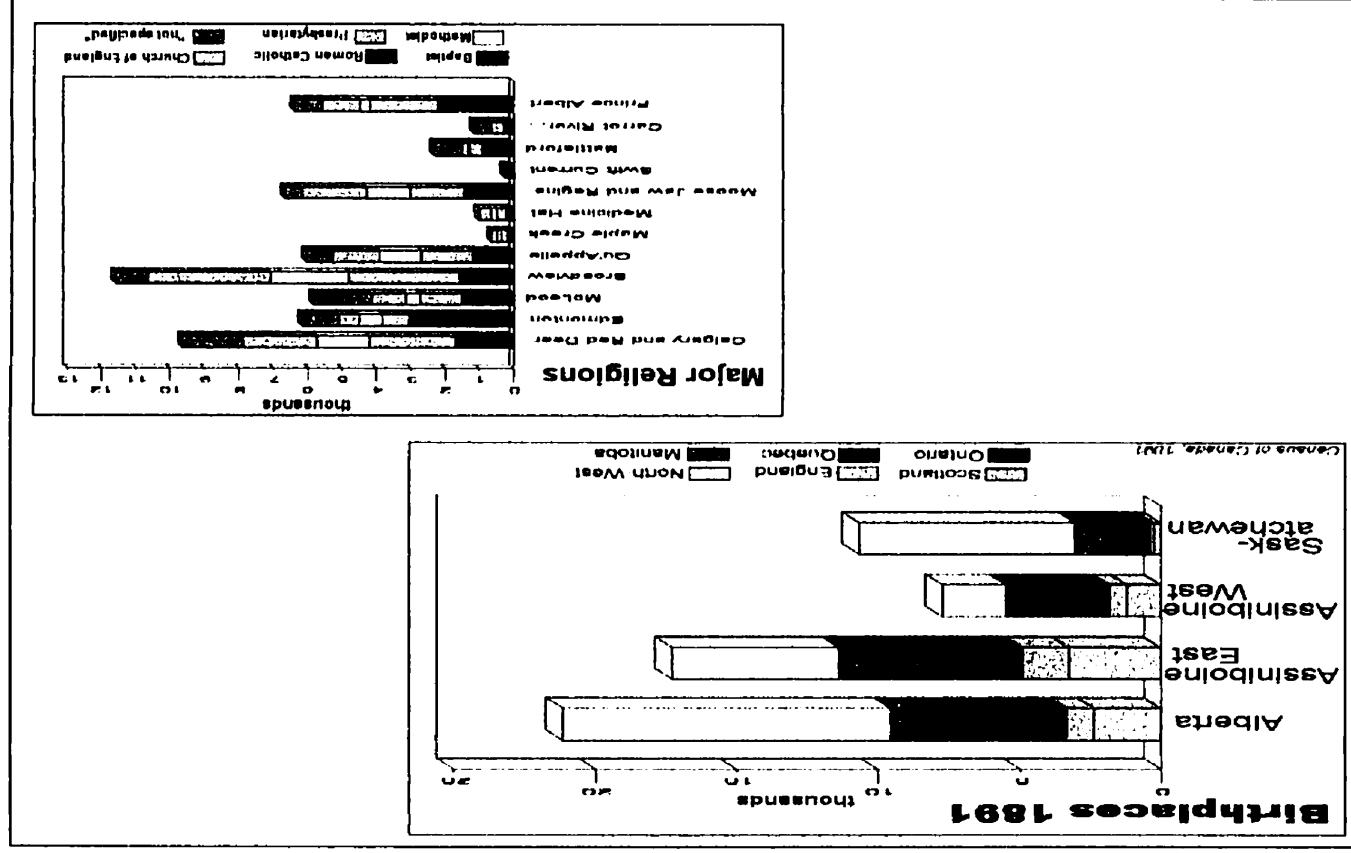


Figure 4.15: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1891

4.5A and 4.5B). Since many of the newcomers were not eastern Canadians, or British (Table 4.5A and 4.5B), they had to learn to accept both the English language and other Anglo-Canadian institutions. Among these institutions, education may have been the most important and, along with the population, education experienced unparalleled growth through the decade. In 1884, there were only 4 School Districts in all the North-West Territories. By the end of 1888, 163 were listed (Table 4.6), 153 of which were English-language jurisdictions.

**Table 4.6: School Boards in the North-West Territories, 1884-1888**

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	TOTAL
Public Schools	4	46	26	33	26	135
Roman Catholic Public Schools		9	4	4	5	22
Roman Catholic Separate Schools		1	1	4		6

Data from: *Canada 1889*: 78-92

Homesteaders lived within the square land survey grid. On their cultivated lands, they were more likely to grow wheat than ever before. The number of acres planted in wheat had expanded rapidly as methods; means and transportation facilities devoted to its production were developed (Kerr and Holdsworth 1990). Barley and oats declined in importance as subsistence agriculture waned and



**Table 4.5A: Birthplaces of the North-West's Population 1891**

	North-West Territories		Saskatchewan		Alberta		Assinibola East		Assinibola West	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
German	747	1.1	18	0.2	146	0.6	364	1.8	219	2.2
Russian	870	1.3	1	0	132	0.5	258	1.3	479	4.8
British*	12,821	19.2	605	5.4	4335	17.2	5,628	27.5	2,253	22.8
Canadian	47,967	71.8	10,366	93.0	18,717	74.1	12,770	62.4	6,114	61.8
Other	4394	6.6	160	1.4	1947	7.7	1462	7.1	825	8.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66,799</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11,150</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>25,277</b>	<b>37.8</b>	<b>20,482</b>	<b>30.7</b>	<b>9,890</b>	<b>14.8</b>

\*from the 1891 Census of Canada's list of birthplaces. Included are: England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Channel Islands and Other British.

**Table 4.5B: Origins of the North-West's Population 1901**

	North-West Territories		Saskatchewan		Alberta		Assinibola East		Assinibola West	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
German	19,572	12.3	4,332	16.9	7,694	11.7	4,564	9.1	2,982	16.9
Russian	17,051	10.7	3,646	14.2	5,212	7.9	7,853	15.6	340	1.9
British*	74,251	46.7	4,186	16.3	32,277	49.0	25,718	51.1	12,070	68.2
Other	48,066	30.2	13,515	52.6	20,693	31.4	12,158	24.2	2300	13.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>158,940</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>25,679</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>65,876</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>50,293</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>17,692</b>	<b>11.1</b>

\*from the 1901 Census of Canada's list of "Origins". Included are: English, Scottish and Irish.

was replaced by grain as a cash crop. Not only had immigrants arrived on the CPR, they now, as a group, depended on its existence to transport their produce to markets outside the North-West Territories. They were united as users of the rail line. More and more these different people had begun to live like one another as citizens of the North-West. While they were still a heterogeneous *émigré* population, representing many nationalities and religions, common interests in North-West development were creating more local pride and cohesiveness.

The 1901 *Census of Canada* shows how the west's population increased tremendously (Figure 4.16). Towns and cities (Table 4.7) had begun to develop and grow while branch lines of the CPR and other railways reached into developing areas (Morton 1939: Kerr 1959: Kerr and Holdsworth 1990). On the brink of provincehood, the North-West Territories had matured into a populated region capable of taking its place in Canadian Confederation, but the political and economic powers associated with that place remained to be negotiated between the Canadian Parliament and the Territorial Legislature.

Figure 4.16: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1901

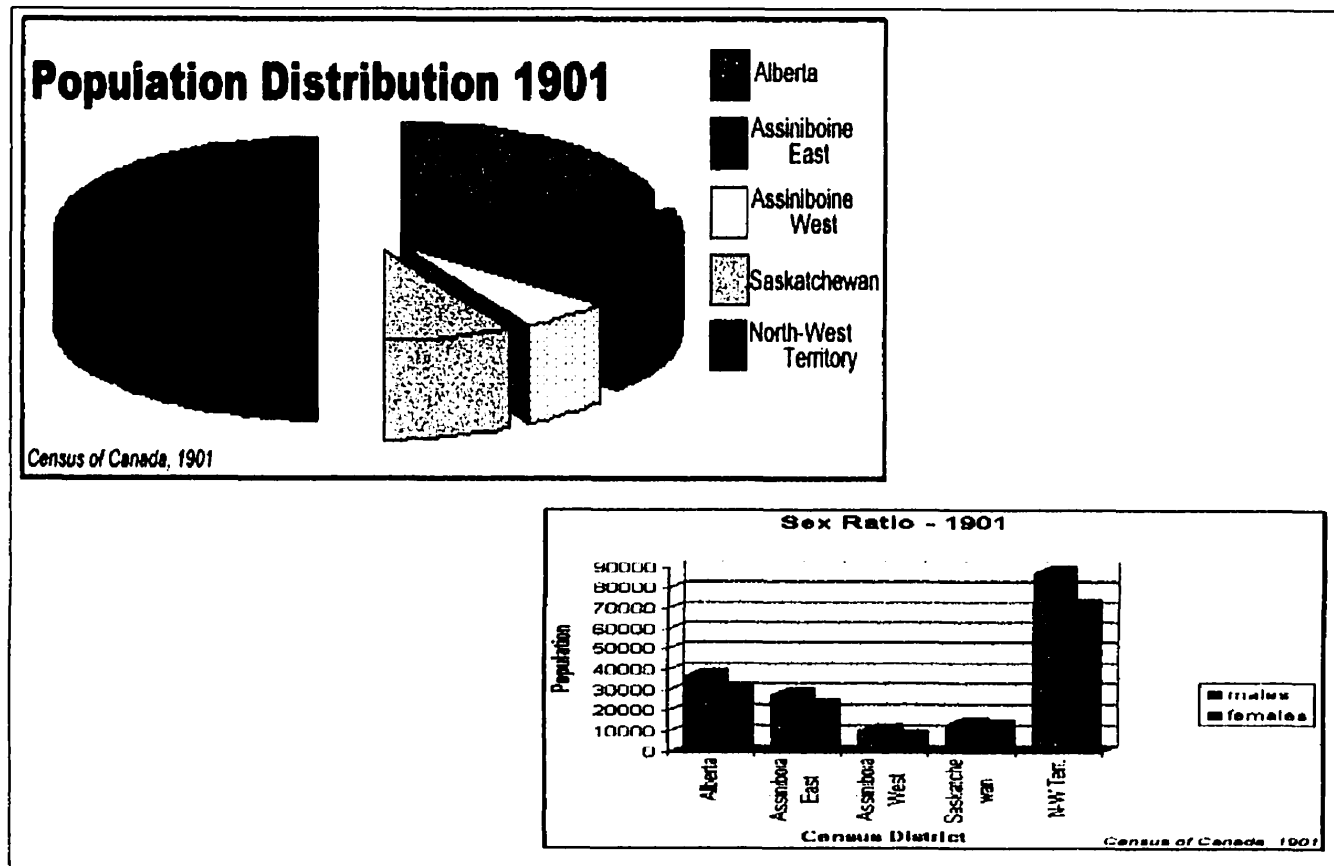
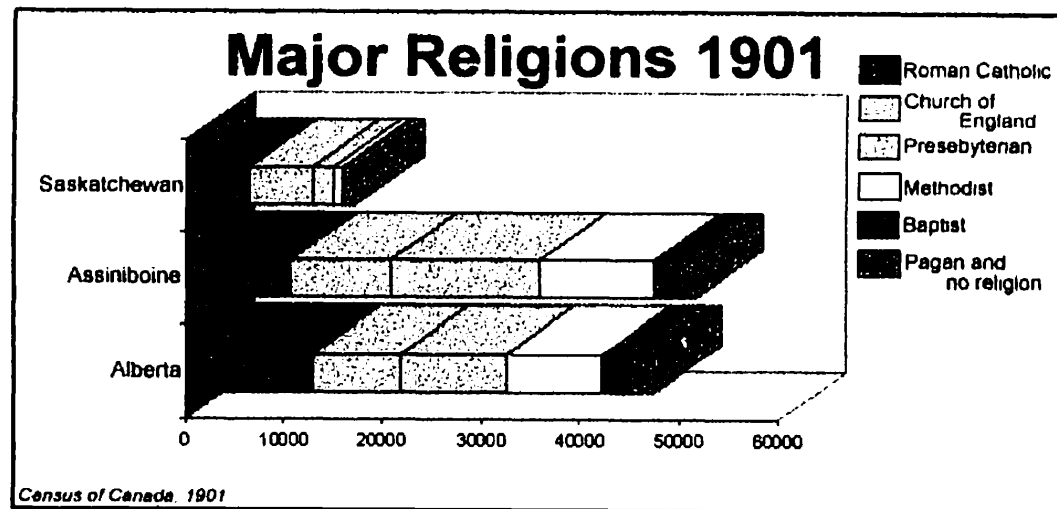


Figure 4.16: Population Characteristics of the North-West Territories 1901



**Table 4.7: Growth of Towns in the North-West Territories.  
1901 – 1906**

	<b>1901</b>	<b>1906</b>
Moose Jaw	1,558	6,249
Prince Albert	1,785	3,005
Regina	2,249	6,169
Saskatoon	113	3,011
Indian Head	768	1,545
Moosimin	868	1,152
Yorkton	700	1,363
Calgary	4,091	11,967
Edmonton	2,626	11,167
Lethbridge	2,072	2,313
Medicine Hat	1,570	3,020
Wetaskawin	550	1,652
Cardston	639	1,001
High River	153	1,018
Lacombe	499	1,015
Macleod	796	1,144
Raymond		1,568
Red Deer	323	1,418
Strathcona	1,550	2,921
Frank	19	1,178

Adapted from: *Canada* 1907: 101

#### **4.9 The Drive to Provincehood**

The idea that the North-West would eventually join Canada *ad mare usque ad mare* had been germinating at least as far back as 1864. At that time the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's lands became the focal point of discussion at conferences in both Charlottetown and Quebec City as well as in London, England that eventually led to Confederation in 1867. The new Dominion of Canada bought Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory from the

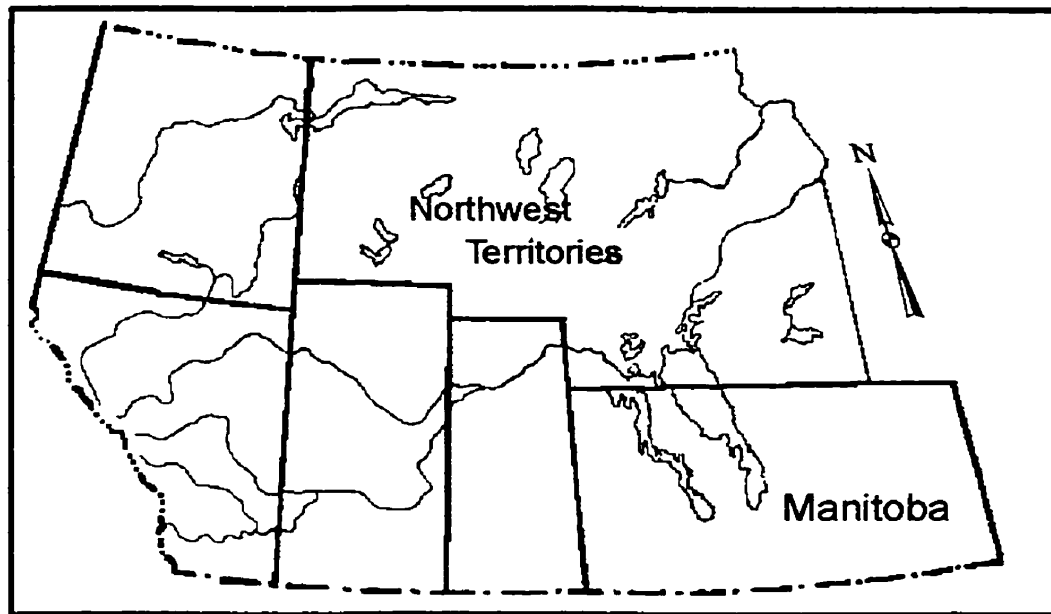
British government in 1870. Later, in 1870, the Province of Manitoba was created and, in 1871, the Province of British Columbia joined. By the 1890s, the politicians of the North-West Territories, most of whom had been born in Ontario, reasoned that the time had finally come for provincehood to be realized.

As early as 1872, J.S. Dennis, then Minister of the Interior, had advanced proposals that would have divided the west into provincial areas (Figure 4.17 and Oworm 1979: 51). Such plans were reiterated in 1882 and thereafter regularly put forward to the Ottawa government. The Dominion government felt that the west was past due for full responsible, representative government and a place in Confederation. Thomas (1978: 96) states:

By 1895 the federal government finally accepted the need to negotiate western demands. In one sense the ensuing decade may be seen as a time of territorial and legal wrangling, but, in addition, many issues of region, place, and self-determination were also at the core of decision-making processes.

People of the west wanted to control their destiny, especially their purse strings. With provincehood looming, many of the feelings, ideas and visions of the future held

**Figure 4.17: The J.S. Dennis Proposal of 1872**



Adapted from Owrn 1979, p. 51

in the west would become apparent. What followed was a process fraught with frustration. For while the west had been colonized by the East, local initiative and vision would not die. The west seemed caught between two distinct visions of what it should and could be. As Morton (1985: 25) notes:

The settlement of the West by the Ontario migration, then, had brought the institutions of civilization to the prairies, law, police, agriculture, commerce, and education. It had incorporated the West into the political structure of Canada. Yet it had failed either to people the plains or to create a civilization adapted to the character of the plains.

Part of the maturation of local character was the development of regional identity. This maturity was reflected in the emotions and feelings for the three districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Thomas (1978: 98) observes that [these] "became centres of sectional feeling or what may be termed "district consciousness" (see pages 112-113).

Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta became focal points of both regional consciousness and agitation for provincial status. Their existence provided a focus for western solidarity and consciousness. They gave legitimacy to feelings of self-definition and provided justification for the drive toward recognition by eastern power brokers. However, western agitation for provincial status was not simply an idealistic desire to join in Canadian Confederation. Of more immediate necessity was the need for tax revenues. Money was needed to build the transportation and economic infrastructure and to operate the day-to-day processes of government. While a local, elected Territorial government was established in 1888 (see page 95) and many elements of quasi-provincial status had been attained budgetary shortfalls were the rule. Typically the Canadian government passed annual grants to the Territorial Council



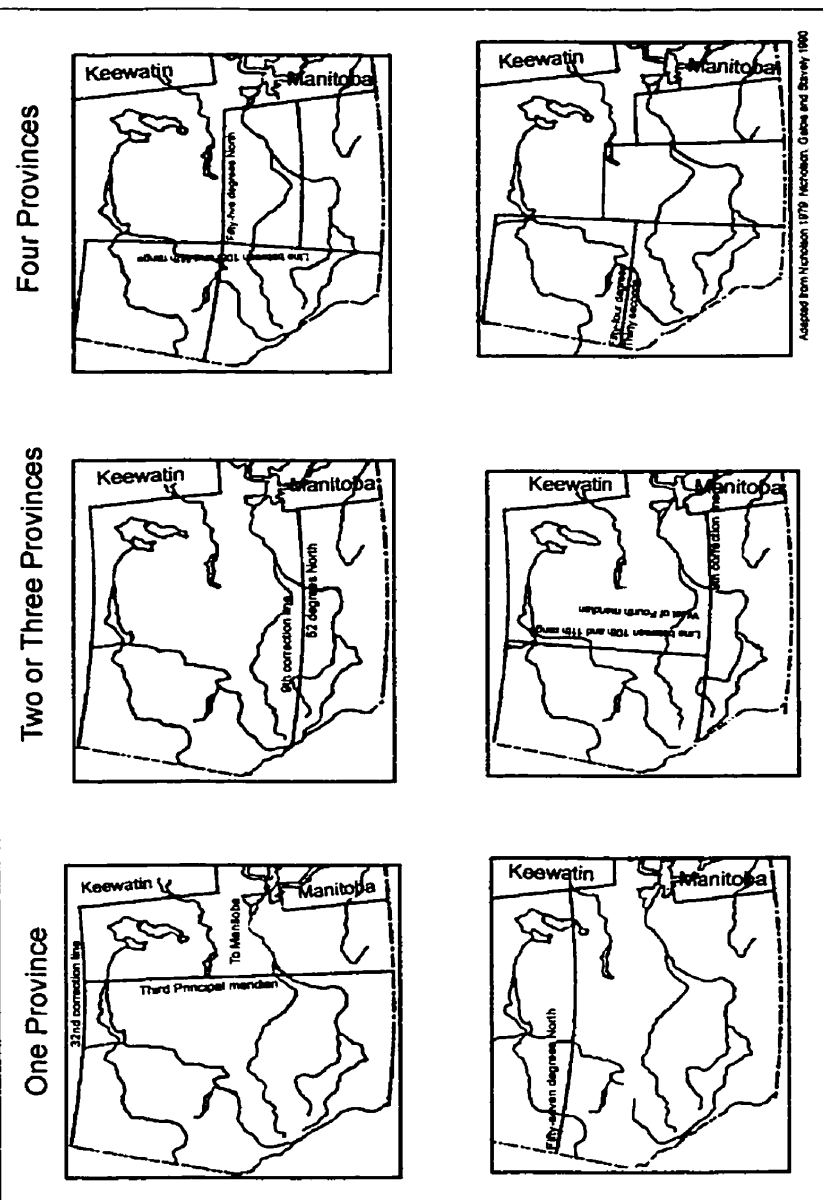
but these too "proved insufficient to meet the Territorial requirement" (Brennan, 1985: 365). Nicholson (1979: 129) observes that this shortage of revenue, coupled with increases in population, created problems for the government of the North-West Territories:

[in the early 1880s] population began to spread westward at an unprecedented rate. Immigration was under the control of the federal government, but the task of providing for the immigrants by the construction of local works and improvements was the responsibility of the territorial government. The problems (mainly financial) created as a result of this gradually became almost insurmountable and, consequently, the territories began to look forward to provincial status.

Several scenarios were evident by the time western provincehood was being seriously considered. Schemes to divide the Territories included the creation of four provinces, three provinces, two provinces (one northern; one southern; one eastern; one western), and one province (Figure 4.18). But the Dominion government only considered those which would result in one or two provinces.

As the 20th century opened, debate over western provincehood crystallized between the two levels of government and around two powerful, charismatic political leaders; Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada and Haultain, Premier of the N-WT. Haultain would submit:

**Figure 4.18: Proposals for Provincehood**



a draft bill creating a single province which would comprise all territory between Manitoba and B.C. and between the 49th and 57th parallels of north latitude. This province was to have full provincial rights, including control of all public lands and natural resources. Laurier rejected these proposals...claiming that the demand for provincial autonomy was premature and that there was no general agreement in the Territories or elsewhere on the number of provinces to be created (Brennan 1985: 365).

As Lingard (1946: 203) notes, Haultain believed that the North-West Territories should not be divided

because the people of the Territories have acquired a political individuality and identity as distinct as that of the people of any Province...There does not seem to be any reason...they should be suddenly divided in two, separated by a purely arbitrary line and obliged to do with two sets of machinery and institutions what they to a great extent have been doing quite satisfactorily and efficiently with one.

Despite the popularity of the proposal for one government for the entire North-West Territories, there were dissenting voices over Haultain's proposals. Notable among these were a *Calgary Herald* editorialist who was a strong advocate for capital status for Calgary's new province (whatever that may have been), Edmonton's city fathers (strong advocates for capital status for Edmonton's new province), and the few Liberal members (both Senate, House and Legislature) of government serving the west who saw fit to obey Laurier's Liberal party line (Owram 1979).

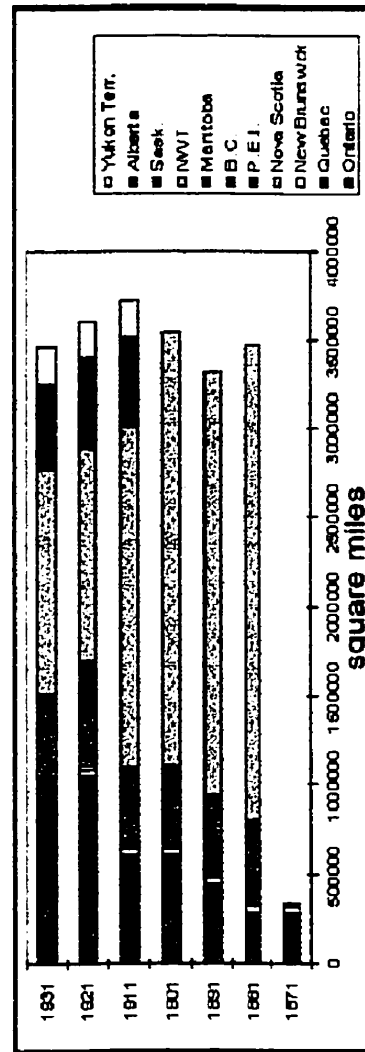
Contrary to Haultain's stance, Laurier would side with those who believed the North-West Territories should be divided. Eventually two provinces were created. The Liberal government (and most vociferously Laurier) publicly cited two reasons for dividing the North-West Territories. The first involved the relative sizes of then contemporary provinces (Table 4.8). To Laurier, it was obvious that a North-West Territories of 1,112,527 square miles (as advocated by Haultain) was much too large compared to other provinces. Second, Laurier argued there was a certain economic *raison d'être* for separateness: Alberta was ranching country; Saskatchewan was farming. Provinces would thereby simply be based on land-use patterns and similarities in life-styles. Each, in retrospect, seems rather spurious, if not willfully misleading.

Laurier's concerns about provincial size were dashed in 1912 when Quebec was enlarged to 594,534 square miles. That year Ontario grew to 412,582 square miles as land claimed by Manitoba became part of it. Clearly for the Laurier government, or the Borden regime that followed, there were no firm guidelines on provincial size (at least for central Canadian provinces). Similar to Laurier's concerns regarding provincial size were the

# Table 4.8: Provincial Sizes from Confederation

	Ontario	Quebec	N.B.	Nova Scotia	P.E.I.	B.C.	Manitoba	NWT	Sask.	Alberta	Yukon Terr.
1871	101715	187530	27177	20909							
1881	101733	188588	27174	20907	2133	341305	123200	265232			
1891	219050	227500	28100	20550	2000	382300	64066	2371481			
1901	260862	351873	27985	21428	2184	372630	73732	2437904			
1911	260862	351873	27985	21427	2184	355855	73731	1921685	251700	255285	207076
1921	365880	690865	27911	21068	2184	353416	231926	1207926	243361	252925	206427
1931	363282	523534	27710	20743	2184	359279	219723	1258217	237975	248800	205346
1941	363282	523534	27710	20743	2184	359279	219723	1258217	237975	248800	205346
1951	363282	523534	27710	20743	2184	359279	219723	1258217	237975	248800	205346
1961	363282	523534	27710	20743	2184	359279	219723	1258217	237975	248800	205346
1971	363282	523534	27710	20743	2184	359279	219723	1258217	237975	248800	205346

1941 and 1951 include Alaska 101600, Saskatchewan 107818, Alberta 101115, Manitoba 101115, and Yukon 101115. 1961 and 1971 include Yukon 101115, Alberta 101115, Saskatchewan 107818, Manitoba 101115, and Yukon 101115. 1971 includes Yukon 101115, Alberta 101115, Saskatchewan 107818, Manitoba 101115, and Yukon 101115.



"misconceptions" about productivity of the land, land use and the character of western regions.

The Foothills and Cypress Hills regions of the Northwest, had, since the 1870s, been the site of cattle ranches. In the two areas, grazing and riparian rights had already been established before homesteaders arrived in any great numbers (Evans 1976; Breen 1983). By the mid 1880s, it was evident that some parts of western Assiniboia and Alberta had become different from eastern Assiniboia and Saskatchewan and Athabasca.

Ranching has been depicted as aloof from eastern Canadian dominance. Much more American influence was exerted on its operation and development than with farming (Rees 1988; Breen 1983). There exists, however, evidence to the contrary, as Evans (1976: 58, 86-87) states:

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the promotion of the range cattle industry in western Canada was used as an instrument to further the goals of the National Policy by which the disparate parts of the young Confederation were to be drawn together....The Government of Canada promoted the development of the range cattle industry on the western grasslands of the Dominion as one of several tactical thrusts which were to contribute to the grand strategy of the National Policy. Risk capital was lured to an undeveloped region by offer of long leases of large acreages of Crown lands at a purely nominal rent. The precedent for the legislative departure from North American norms came to Canada via her Imperial connections. Direct government

involvement in every facet of the cattle industry in Canada meant that it evolved in a very different manner from the industry in the United States.

Data from Laurier's Department of the Interior repudiated the view that Saskatchewan was "farming" and Alberta "ranching" country. Evidence suggests that Laurier was well informed of the reality of western life (Lingard 1946: 205) but he "played upon" what was thought to be "common knowledge" of the west. Department of the Interior records show that during 1901, Alberta had 80,000 acres of potential grain-growing lands, Saskatchewan 86,000; Alberta had 113,559 acres of ranching land, Saskatchewan 106,887; and Alberta contained 41,000 acres of potentially irrigated lands while Saskatchewan only had 32,000. Were these differences great enough to create an internal provincial boundary comparable to that which existed along the Ottawa River? Given the fallacious nature of Laurier's public arguments, the subsequent enlargement of central Canadian provinces after the fact, and the seeming lack of concern regarding the decision<sup>12</sup>, there must have been other motives in estranging Haultain who was a popular, albeit Conservative, elected leader of the west.

Ottawa rejected Haultain's one province. The Laurier government preferred two smaller provinces. Perhaps Laurier was concerned that a single North-West province could, in time, disrupt the delicate balance between Ottawa and the powerful provinces of Ontario and Quebec. To that end, the creation of two relatively low population, politically weak provinces rather than a single potentially powerful entity that could not (and would never?) force its view of Confederation onto central Canadians, or Ottawa, satisfied the agenda of the Laurier government.

Other reasons for division of the North-West Territories include overt "party politics" and personality clashes. Lingard (1946: 205), for example, saw a number of different purposes served by the division.

That the territories were divided may be attributed to the unfortunate development of local personal ambitions centred in two or three communities, the willingness of the federal authorities to give more weight to the representations of the North-West Liberal members than to those of the Territorial government, who alone were elected on the autonomy platform, and the fear in the older provinces that the one large province would assert a preponderant influence in the Dominion Parliament. The dividing line was purely an arbitrary one. No natural division existed along which the boundary between the two provinces could be drawn.



The actions of Laurier's government to create two provinces were entirely consistent with those of John A. Macdonald, who wrote "Canada...is the paramount power and has a distinct interest in the size, population and limits of every Province within her bounds." (Thomas 1978: 96). This centralist view suggests that Ottawa preferred a divided, peripheral North-West Territories. From this failure to create a place suited to its local cultural ecology would rise frustration, anger, mistrust, and antagonism. In short, all those attributes that have typified western federal-provincial relations to this day.

In 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan were created. Having ensured that these provinces would not challenge eastern dominance through mere size, the federal government also ensured that they could not challenge through economic success. To further hamstring their development, all relevant aspects of provincehood were granted the new provinces but one: control of natural resources, hence land. These would remain in the Dominion's control until 1930:

[for] the federal government...had no wish to create another large, strong province which might well challenge its policies. Hence two provinces were created...neither of which was given control of its natural resources...a serious departure

from the principle of federalism as then understood (Thomas 1978: 265).

This manipulation was, perhaps, an even greater abuse of power relationships in a geographical sense than that perpetrated by boundary manipulation. The inhabitants of the old North-West Territories were deprived by the federal government of control of their region for another 25 years.

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

The geography of the North-West was transformed as surveyors and settlers made their way west. Through the process of territorial expansion and the rigorous application of a geometric land division pattern, the Dominion of Canada exerted both its power to colonize and its power to impose a modernistic landscape on the west.

Canada, the nation, was made by political deeds. Confederation was achieved by central Canada by convincing Maritimers, British Columbians, and, later, Newfoundlanders to join in their vision. On the other hand, Ottawa did not have to convince westerners of the merits of their state; they bought them.

Because the North-Western Territory was purchased (and renamed the North-West Territories in 1870), Ottawa's power was seen as total. Ottawa exercised this power, in a rather firm manner well into the 20th century.

A regional geography focused on issues of power and the creation of two, western Canadian provinces in the late 19th century is one that shows Saskatchewaners and Albertans were admitted to Confederation under different conditions from other provinces. Both lands and resources were controlled by Ottawa until 1930, the two new provinces, therefore, could not realize the potentials of their environment and the natural wealth within their boundaries.

Through the application of a newly formulated regional geography, relationships of power between different levels of government, between indigenous westerners and incoming Eastern Canadians, between ranchers and farmers, between urbanites and country folk and between Albertans and Saskatchewaners can be seen. By emphasizing procedures and patterns of land division and processes of provincial creation, evidence of the effects of power on the landscape becomes clear.

#### 4.11 Notes

1. Local allegiances and emotions are not dead in Canada but continue to challenge the existence of the nation. Quebec separatism, western alienation, northern land claims, and the movement to create Cascadia are all contemporary issues. However, the dominance of Canada by its populous "heartland" continues as a trait of the country.

2. As Gregory (1996) and Blaut (1993), among others, have discussed, modernism can be seen as the ideology that was a push toward colonization of "new" worlds for Europeans. Modernism directs an agenda of organization and determines aspects of economies and politics. Modernism created systems of trade, dominance and patterns of minority marginalization. It is inexorably linked to capitalism and created a European realm that has dominated the earth. Gregory (1996) cites four important aspects of the modernist agenda (1)the intellectual "abstract spaces of rationality" that "absolutize time and space". In Canada, the Dominion Land Survey system and the imposition of human derived rationality on nature exemplify these. (2)"exhibiting the world" where European social elements are compared to foreign elements and usually found superior. In western North America, the famed portrait photographer Edward Curtis may be seen as exemplary. (3)"normalizing the subject", the creation of poles of differences between the above-mentioned societies, the imposition of a "continuum of development" and the existence of concepts such as "orient" and "occident" are results or, in the Canadian example, 'west' and 'east'. (4)the exclusive and non-integrated aspect of humans and nature. Through modernism comes the "environmental otherness" and detached view of nature that many contemporary societies apply.

3. The development and intellectual history of modernism are chronicled in many different sources. Most writers trace its roots well back into the European Middle Ages. See the works of Toulmin (1982), Soja (1987), and Ley (1989) among others.

4. Pemmican and provisioning for the HBC/Nor'West Company were not insignificant but as occupations they are not considered as important as the occupations linked to more

permanent posts found in the Parklands and forested areas (see Milne 1994 and Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management undated).

5. Gregory (1996) among others has observed the importance of scientific explorations and surveys in appropriating place (see note 2 above). As one of four means of establishing the dominance of modernism it becomes essential as an initial element of "claiming space" and of the colonizing process.

6. Some irony exists here with errors in border placement such as the Northwest Angle and the anomaly of Point Roberts. Confidence in the science of the modernist age was misplaced. Today, such mistakes are corrected by post-modern "superior" methods (Global Positioning Systems, satellite imagery, air surveillance) but the existence of such errors reinforce doubt in human abilities to establish "facts". It is this relativism of "new" physics, biology and chemistry (not to mention philosophy and social science) that precludes our deep trust in our own senses or even in the findings of contemporary "scientists".

7. Straight lines on the landscape would be an excellent example of Gregory's (1996) "abstract space of rationality". Clearly such an imposition defines the "absolutizing of time and space" so dominant in the modernist ideology. As Morton (1973: 23-24) states, these straight lines had their supporters" among the intellectual and political elite of the United States as well: "The square survey, approved if not planned by Thomas Jefferson, was of course a perfect expression of the bland but abstract rationalism of the eighteenth century."

8. Both Gibson and Gowans (1971) and Jordan and Rowntree (1974) outline social function theory (or, in the case of the latter, facets of it). Landscape elements do not merely reflect social mores and ideology, they actively advance it. To that end it is also apparent that landscape evidence, unlike writing, photographic or computer-generated evidence, cannot and does not lie (Monmier 1986). To create a survey system, impose a plan or construct a public work that misleads would be inane and financially ruinous.

9. Boundaries of the Canada Census of 1881 cannot be established. Maps outlining the census districts were lost in a Parliamentary Library fire of 1916 (personal correspondence 12/16/92).

10. The means by which regional consciousness is and can be formed are myriad (Jordan and Rowntree 1979; Zelinsky 1992; Warkentin 1997). The federal government of Canada tries to establish such consciousness and unity through many means. Whether such feelings can be actively fostered or if they must grow "organically" remains a moot point as many international conflicts suggest (see Chapter 2).

11. Relic Metis landscapes continue to exist in the Batoche - Saint Louis area of Saskatchewan. With the museum of Metis culture and the Metis Days celebration (July) which attracts many people from throughout North America, these landscapes shall probably remain.

12. Lingard (1946: 202) considered the lack of discussion regarding the division of the west in 1905, specifically that:

Very little discussion took place in the House on the question of the wisdom of the government's proposal to create two provinces. The size of the proposed provinces, together with the swollen stream of immigration and the unprecedented development of the North-West, appeared sufficient justification for Parliament to approve the policy, almost without question....the chief criticism came from those who desired to see Manitoba enlarged...In the opinion of some, the Dominion already suffered from an excess of local governments and heavy taxation, and the unnecessary increase of the these drawbacks may have easily been avoided.

**Chapter Five**  
**Chinks in the Armour: Pipelines to Homelands**  
**in the Western Arctic**

**5.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores the exercise of power by Canada and the Inuvialuit in the western Arctic in the late 20th century. As the third case study, it illustrates a contemporary struggle for power. The objective is to learn how power, including its application and local, indigenous access to it, can profoundly affect landscapes, regions and a locally determined and maintained sense of place. In this chapter, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) marks a new page in Ottawa's relationship with aboriginal peoples. The IFA represents a transfer of power from Ottawa to the Inuvialuit.

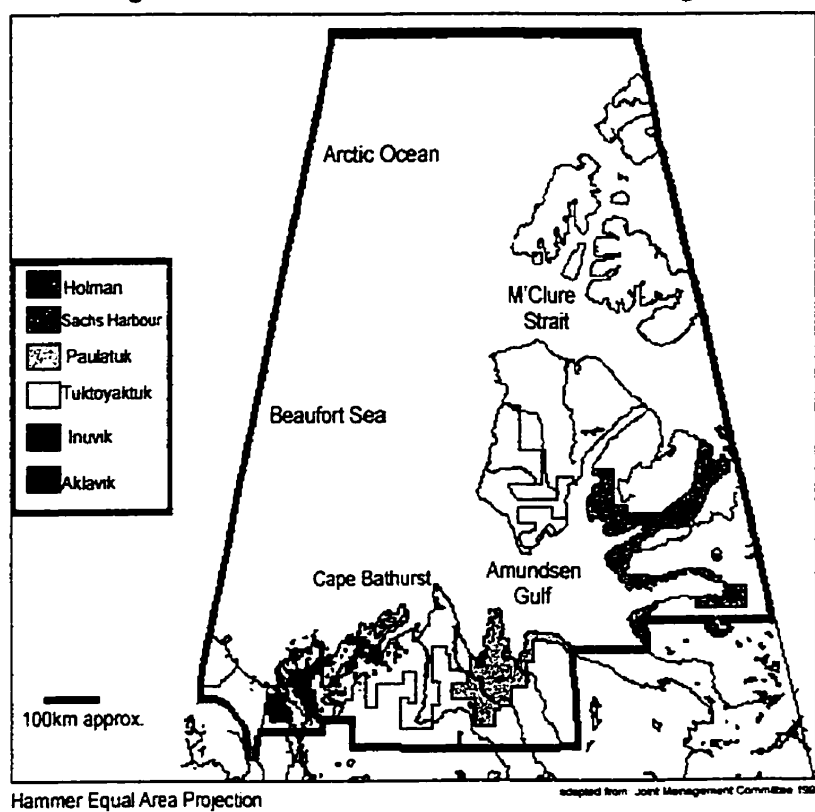
In 1984, the federal Government of Canada and the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) signed the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA). The latter created the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) which occupies a huge area (approximately 91,000 square kilometres) in the northwestern area of the Northwest Territories (NWT). The Inuvialuit lands comprise a small part of the ISR. These

are the areas selected under the auspices of the IFA and controlled outright by the Inuvialuit. These lands are around the six major communities of the Inuvialuit: Sachs Harbour, Holman, Paulatuk, Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik and Aklavik (Figure 5.1). The Inuvialuit also gained some control over industrial projects proposed for anywhere in the ISR through their participation in Joint Management Committees, especially the Environmental Impact Screening Committee and Environmental Impact Review Board (Figure 5.2). The agreement was the first comprehensive land claim agreement in Canada and it would become a bellwether for other such claims.<sup>1</sup>

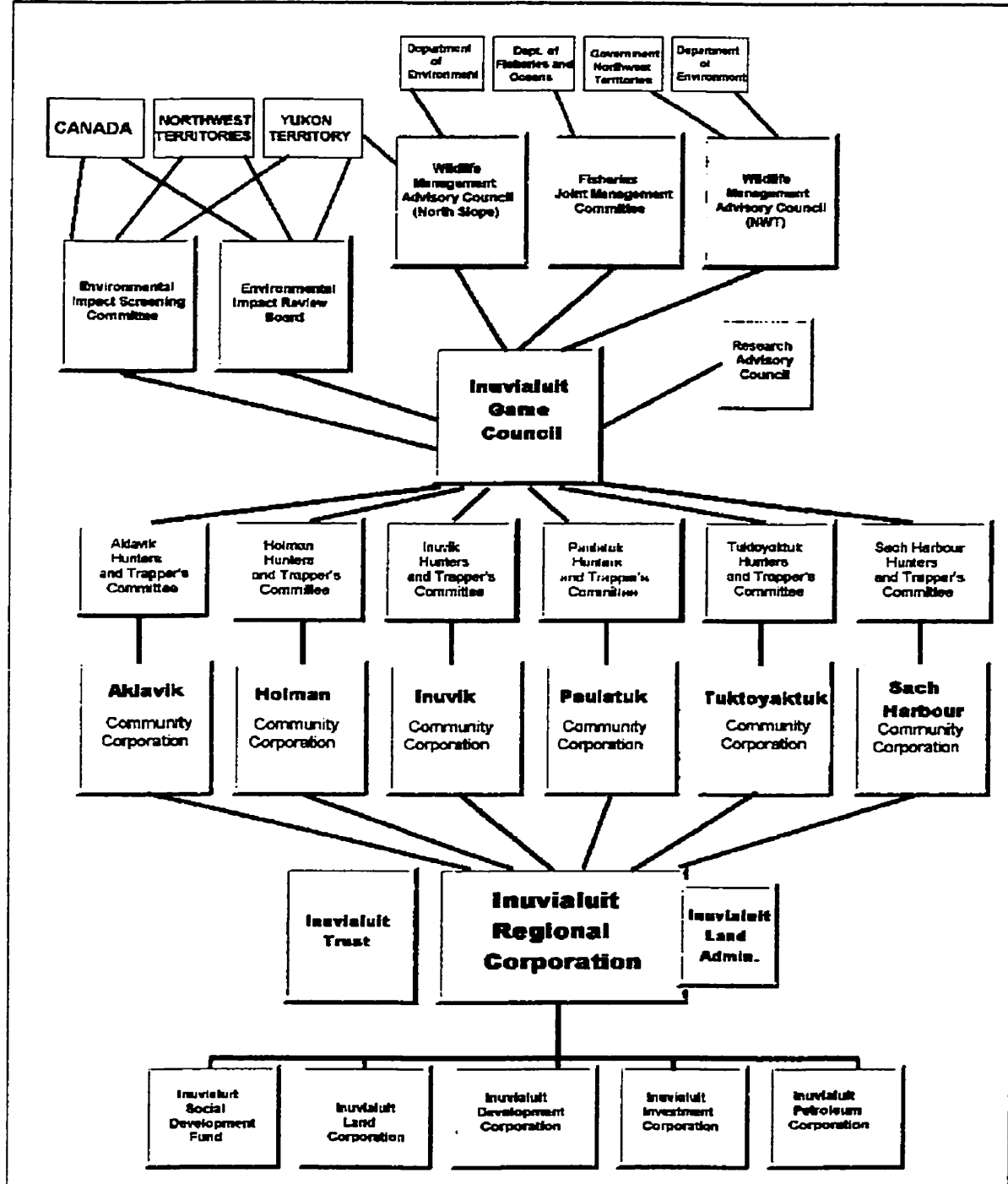
The IFA agreement marked both the end of a long process and the onset of new and different relations between both original signatories. This chapter has four main goals: 1)to set the stage and thereby provide a brief historic context of the signing of the IFA; 2)to investigate how the Agreement has functioned since its inception; 3)to speculate whether its application has differed from its original spirit or intent; and 4)to demonstrate a third outcome of the struggle for power between Ottawa and Aboriginal peoples within a northern regional context.



Figure 5.1: The Inuvialuit Settlement Region



**Figure 5.2: Background to Empowerment, the IFA**



Sources: (IRC 2000: ifap5.html; affil.html)

## **5.2 Background of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement**

Native people in Canada have long led a disadvantaged existence. Confined to marginal areas, discriminated against by mainstream society and culturally assailed by many socio/political/economic forces, Native peoples have come to exist as poorer, sicker, less-educated, culturally alienated, and more suicide-prone than Canadians of non-native backgrounds.<sup>2</sup> The development of this situation has undergone significant changes through time as well. Moving from initial "contact" through to modernity, Southern-Northern/White-Native relations have passed through many stages of development. Theoretical perspectives illuminating these developing relations make use of concepts such as mercantilism, welfare state, modernisation, and dependency<sup>3</sup> to frame their conclusions.

By the late 1970s<sup>4</sup>, it had been recognised by Canadians in general and the federal government specifically, that policies and programs directed at changing the lot of native peoples by assimilation had failed. The development of new policies, based on the notion of integration grew out of the 1969 White Paper<sup>5</sup>. The actual program took the form of comprehensive land claims<sup>6</sup> that led to the empowerment not of individuals but

of groups of Native peoples. An era of land claims settlements and dealings at the "national" level was heralded as offering practical solutions to many of the problems of the past (Table 5.1). With land claims

**Table 5.1: Land Claims in Canada: A Comparison**

Claim	Agreement type and date	number of beneficiaries at signing	Compensation total \$	per capita \$	other payment \$	land surface total sq. miles	per capita sq. miles	Exclusive hunting fishing and trapping lands - sq. miles	per capita sq. miles
James Bay Cree	Nov. 11, 1975	6,650	135 M.	29,300	145 M + 17.5 M.	2,140	0.32	24,899	3.74
Inuit of Northern Quebec	Nov. 11, 1975	4,390	90 M.	20,501	12.6 M.	3,147	0.72	33,631	7.66
Naskapis of N.E. Quebec	Jan. 12, 1978	390	9 M.	23,136	1.26 M.	270	0.69	1,600	4.10
Inuvialuit	June 5, 1984	2,500	55 M.	22,000	7.5 M. + 16.8 M.	30,000	12.5	6,000	2.5
Indians of Yukon	March 31, 1990	6,500	242.7 M.	37,340	11 M.	6,000	0.92	In small parks, etc.	
Dene/Metis of NWT	April 9, 1990	13,000	500 M.	38,461	21 M.	66,100	5.08	7,500	0.6
Inuit of NWT	April 30, 1990	17,000	580 M.	34,118	N/a	121,360	7.14		

Source: adapted from Bone (1992: 236) and Crowe (1990: 20-21)

settlements in Quebec (James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, 1975; and Naskapis of North-eastern Quebec, 1978) and the Inuvialuit settlement in the western Arctic a new way of approaching age-old problems had been developed. At the core of these modern treaties lay comprehensive land claims that foregrounded elements that had not been

discussed in the past. These included: potential economic development, conservation and sustainable yield, cultural maintenance and self-determination issues.

In 1969, an oil discovery at Atkinson Point near Tuktoyaktuk heralded the opening of the Northwestern Arctic as a contemporary resource frontier. Eventually, the Berger Inquiry and its findings would ensure a moratorium on development along the Mackenzie Valley corridor but in 1970 the outlook for such careful planning and consideration of Native needs seemed bleak.

On January 28, 1970, the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), the group that would eventually open the negotiations that led to the IFA, was formed by a group of 16 people meeting in the Craft Store in Inuvik. The committee sought to further the cause of native people of the western Arctic but they also thought that

the only way to prevent destruction [*of both wildlife, and native cultures*] was to join together to prevent it [*and that*] the main objective of COPE would be to provide a united voice for all the original people of the NWT...the second aim should be to work for the establishment and realization of native rights. (Osgood 1981a: 1)

By 1971, this group had allied itself with Inuit of the eastern Northwest Territories, Manitoba, Quebec and Labrador as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). At a meeting in Ottawa, early in 1972 ITC's delegates ratified the following goals (ITC Communication Department: undated):

To promote public awareness of Inuit rights in Canadian society.

To provide necessary information to Inuit on their own situation, government plans, aboriginal rights and legal matters.

To help preserve Inuit culture and language and promote dignity and pride in Inuit heritage.

To assist Inuit in their right to full participation in Canadian society, that they may determine those things of a social, economic, educational and political nature which will affect them and future generations.

To unite all Inuit of Northwest Territories, Arctic Quebec, Labrador and Manitoba and to speak for them with regard to political support and publicity.

However, after negotiations for a pan-NWT comprehensive land claim stalled, COPE broke away. By May of 1976, a proposal for negotiating a comprehensive land claim in the northwestern NWT had been accepted. Formal negotiations, culminating in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement of 1984, had been joined.

### **5.3. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement**

In its opening passages, the IFA states its basic goals:

- a)to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society;
- b)to enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society; and
- c)to protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity. (Canada 1985a: 1)

In a summary of the IFA (IRC 2000: about.html) these basic goals are paraphrased as:

The rights and benefits which Inuvialuit will receive as a result of the Settlement, in consideration of their agreeing to extinguish their interests based upon traditional use and occupancy, will include lands; financial compensation; wildlife harvesting rights; wildlife and habitat protection measures; participation in land use and wildlife management; and economic and social development measures.

The purpose of comprehensive land claims negotiations is to redress land claims where a treaty has not taken place. Simultaneously, the Agreement must give attention to the 'northern' nature of the land claim. For the Inuvialuit, this meant protecting their land and entering the market economy.

The IFA created two distinct 'arms' to administer two of the agreement's major concerns. Growing from items b) and c) listed above were the Inuvialuit Regional

Corporation (IRC) and the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC), respectively (see Figure 5.2). These organizations were created to manage the cash settlement, the land, and its biological productivity. In this way, the Inuvialuit could become "equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society" (Canada 1985a: 1).

The IRC is responsible for managing the cash settlement and administering the Inuvialuit lands. The Inuvialuit Land Corporation (ILC) handles the sale of gravel, leases for oil and gas drilling and the land leases of the territory obtained under the IFA. Two corporations look after the cash settlement. The Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) invests in or buys existing corporations such as the Alberta Petroleum Corporation (now Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation), or creates new corporations such as the Inuvialuit Sporting Goods Limited.

The Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) is responsible for the well being of the environment and wildlife. This responsibility is shared with Ottawa, Whitehorse and Yellowknife. The sharing of power takes place as a co-management structure known as Joint Management Committees. These, as the name suggests, have both government and Inuvialuit members. The committees not only have direct



access to Territorial and Federal governments (see Figure 5.2), but also act as liaison to the IGC. In this way they direct the wildlife interests of the Hunters and Trappers Committees of each of the six Inuvialuit communities. That this process can be used by the Inuvialuit to pressure both Joint Management Committees and, ultimately the Federal government, is illustrated by the events leading to the granting of a license to hunt bowhead whales in 1988. The example is outlined by Isaak (1998: 101-102).

The Canadian government prohibited harvesting bowhead whales in 1979 except by special license from the Department of Fisheries. However, section 14. (6) of the IFA 'provides the Inuvialuit with...the preferential right to harvest all species of wildlife, except migratory non-game birds and migratory insectivorous birds, for subsistence usage throughout the western Arctic Region' (IFA 1984). Based on this section of the IFA, the Aklavik Hunters and Trappers Committee began to petition the Federal government for a license to hunt bowhead for subsistence purposes in 1988.

The process is initiated by the Hunters and Trappers Committee of one of the communities...The application is then forwarded to the Inuvialuit Game Council, who passes it on to the Fisheries Joint Management Committee. Since the Committee is a recognized and official entity, its recommendations are given serious consideration. Meanwhile, all these agencies, including the Federal Government, can lobby the International Whaling Commission to prevent one or more of the member countries from imposing sanctions against Canada. Since the Canadian government only has observer status, the International Whaling Commission cannot issue a quota for bowhead harvesting. However, since the

signing of the IFA and the recognition by the courts that Inuvialuit subsistence rights are constitutionally protected by the IFA, the Federal Government has given their full support in persuading the international community that the bowhead hunt is an Aboriginal right of the Inuvialuit. Moreover, they have reaffirmed the sanctity of the IFA within Canada by issuing a special license to the Inuvialuit to hunt bowhead whale.

The example of the bowhead hunt is one that shows how power begins to devolve from the Federal level to the local and how that power is directed by the IFA. Without the Agreement's structure, it may have been that a hunt of this type, despite its importance to both livelihood and culture, would be lost to the Inuvialuit (Freeman, Wein and Keith 1992).

Relationships between the Inuvialuit and the Canadian (and NWT) government are made more complex by the nature of northern climates, physiography, culture, and the lack of previous treaties between Inuit peoples and the Canadian federal government. Such complexities have been examined by others<sup>7</sup>, yet comprehensive land claims form the backbone of any relations between contemporary interest. While broad social *cum* economic relations are important (as examined in Usher, 1987 and 1998), an examination of "comprehensive policies" and their implications is necessary.

#### **5.4 Evaluation of Comprehensive Land Claims**

Ponting (1986b) provides an approach to evaluating and understanding comprehensive land claims. He examines specific, topical elements of recent agreements. These include: land allotments and land-use rights; corporate and financial compensation and structure; harvesting provisions; other economic development provisions; and other related features of agreements. While land and its use plays a role in Ponting's model, clearly other aspects, notably broad-based traditional "economic" provisions, seem dominant. There is a lack of sensitivity for the relationship between Native culture and the land. Little appreciation of the overwhelming "investment" which northern Native peoples have in their traditional homeland regions. Sensitivity for these cultural aspects may be gained by employing the geographer's 'eye' and by highlighting the formative role that power has in the relationship between peoples and their regions. It features an appreciation for the physical as well as the human aspects of place and space.<sup>8</sup> To that end this analysis will use a different approach to understanding the IFA. Analysis will be undertaken under three broad milieux: 1) the man-land relationship (hereafter referred to as the

ecological tradition); 2) economic development; and 3) cultural maintenance and promotion.<sup>9</sup>

It is exceedingly difficult to isolate "geographical" elements of the IFA from one another, especially in a northern context. Through application of geography's ecological tradition, however, environmental matters clearly affect economic relationships and culturally established land use. Land use patterns help to define and bring insight to how and why individuals, societies and the natural world interact. A deep appreciation of these two-way, complex relations seems lacking in the IFA for within it there resides a tacit emphasis on only one type or form of the "ecological" relationship, the economic. The Agreement emphasizes the point that should economic levels improve, so will Inuvialuit culture be enhanced and ecological aspects improve. Each will be "towed-along" by increasing individual incomes, expanding corporate revenues, new investment horizons, and generalised economic improvements.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately, through economic development, profound "improvements" will take place within the region. Therefore, a fundamental assumption of the IFA is that the Inuvialuit will participate in a market economy.

## **5.5 Cultural Maintenance and Promotion in the IFA**

Culture is the total way of life of the Inuvialuit including their language and their land-based economy. The IFA created the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) from which stems the Inuvialuit Social Development Program (ISDP) which was established "to help meet the problems of social transition faced by Inuvialuit" It can undertake this mandate because:

there will be a Social Development Fund of \$7.5 million, to be managed by 6 Trustees chosen by Inuvialuit. Utilizing the Inuvialuit perspective, language and customs, the Program will assist in solving social concerns such as the problems of elders, language, housing, health and welfare, and the maintenance of traditional pursuits. It will also advise government on programs concerning such matters as alcohol, dental care and nutrition, as well as initiate and develop special education programs. Each community will be involved in developing various programs, which will also be managed by Inuvialuit. This Fund is not intended to replace government programs (Inuvialuit Development Corporation [IDC] 2000: ourmiss.html).

The ISDP has created programs that promote culture.

Through programs such as

Summer Language and Culture Camps held in the communities.  
Support to Inuvialuit Drum Dance groups.  
Support for Adult Inuvialuktun Language Program classes.  
Inuvialuit Genealogy Program.  
Participation in Oral Histories Project.  
Involvement in Historical National Park studies.

Participation in regional, territorial and national workshops relating to social, health and cultural concerns.

Assistance in the development of Teacher Education Program of Arctic College in Inuvik.

Support of cultural and educational exchanges between Inuvialuit and Yupik (Inuit) culminating in an Inuvialuit delegation to Chukotka, Russia in May 1994 (IRC 2000: ourmiss.html).

It makes specific reference to preserving and promoting Inuvialuit traditions. But despite the goals and programs of the ISDP, within the entirety of the IFA there are relatively few clauses that make clear, explicit reference to Inuvialuit cultural maintenance or promotion. Contemporary programs (such as those listed above) were not founded under the direct aegis of the IFA; therefore, they are not directly funded through the IFA. Because of this, these programs are often "soft funded"; the necessary moneys for their continuing operation are NOT guaranteed or ongoing. Annually, or less often, the directors or other interested parties must appeal to Ottawa, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), other government agencies or other IFA corporations for grants to keep them operating.

Only one section of the IFA deals specifically with cultural matters. It forms the basis for the creation of the ISDP and reads,

17.(1) It is acknowledged that the health, education, housing and standards of living of the Inuvialuit need to be improved. Canada agrees to provide special funding as described in subsection (3) to contribute to the accomplishment of these social goals by the Inuvialuit.

17.(2) The Inuvialuit Social Development Program shall pertain to social concerns such as housing, health, welfare, mental health, education, elders and the maintenance of traditional practices and perspectives within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

17.(3) Canada shall establish a Social Development Fund and shall deposit therein \$7.5 million. The Fund shall be incorporated, non-profit and tax-exempt.

17.(4) The Social Development Fund shall be used with a view to satisfying the social concerns set out in subsection (2) and shall be administered by trustees designated by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation from time to time. The Fund shall be administered by COPE until such time as the trustees are so designated. (Canada 1985a: 33)

Seemingly significant amounts of money are dedicated to cultural purposes with \$7.5 millions incorporated as a non-profit, tax exempt fund<sup>11</sup> but the administration and mandate of committees dedicated to cultural maintenance are not clearly outlined nor is funding in any way guaranteed for any of the program's mandated matters.

If one formal goal of the IFA is "to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society" and it is accepted that the IFA is

designed to create "virtually a new society"<sup>12</sup>, it seems that specific cultural aspects do not have a great role to play. Again, it bears mention that the main thrusts of the IFA deal with economic matters. More specifically, it seems that once these are "bettered", it is believed that Inuvialuit culture will "flourish" and escape the acculturation and demise which seem so very threatening.

If the main powers and interests of the IFA do not lie within the realm of culture, it becomes clear that they lie within other aspects of the Agreement. Culture, it seems, will be protected and promoted by the rights and powers invested in both the economic strengths imparted by the Agreement and through review or policy making boards, especially those concerned with economic development projects, wildlife management and environmental review. Strength of economy must stem from the control of the land. To that end, a prime concern is how lands have been treated in the IFA.

#### **5.6 Land and Its Administration: The Ecological Tradition I**

Land may be seen as the ultimate repository of Inuvialuit cultural heritage and values. Traditions and



vibrant contemporary adaptations and developments of the culture are firmly embedded in that which is provided by the natural environment<sup>13</sup>. The negotiations and conclusions of the IFA seem to appreciate this for the IFA has designated land and its control as a prime feature of the Agreement. Three separate classes of lands and three separate and distinct amounts have been dedicated in the region:

- a. 6 blocks (of approximately 700 square miles each) around the communities (in fee simple absolute). This totals 4200 square miles that includes all minerals (subject some pre-existing subsurface alienations).

- b. 800 square miles (in fee simple absolute) in Cape Bathurst.

- c. 30,000 square miles (in fee simple absolute) LESS oil, gas, coal, sulphur and all related elements, outside the communities mentioned above. (Canada 1985a: 13)

These land are selected by the Inuvialuit from..."the lands traditionally used and occupied by the Inuvialuit" (Canada 1985a: 14). The land selection process involves specific criteria:

- a)for reasons of biological productivity or traditional pursuits, including hunting, trapping and fishing:

- b)future tourism or other economic activities:

- c)production of wildlife and protection of habitat:

- d)historic Inuvialuit sites or burial grounds:

- e)any areas that might be used by new Inuvialuit communities to be created in the future:

f)lands that do not contain proved oil and gas reserves  
g)lands that were not privately owned and lands that did not constitute public works as of July 13, 1978. (Canada 1985a: 15)

With control of land comes concern for environmental regulation and control for a spoiled environment is a useless, or worse, a culturally and economically damaging environment that would be costly to restore. To that end the IFA has erected ways and means of securing protection and facilitating decision-making regarding potential environment-threatening projects. This has been implemented through the creation of co-management committees, processes and procedures that must be followed before development (see Figure 5.2). Notably, the Environmental Impact Screening and Review Process, Environment Impact Screening Committee, and Wildlife Management Advisory, each with its own manner and means of operation, have been created by the IFA. They represent shared power over the environment and wildlife. Their jurisdiction extends over the ISR. All co-management committees are funded by the federal government.

## **5.7 The Environmental Screening Committee: Ecological Tradition II**

The Environmental Screening Committee has seven permanent members; three from "Canada" (one from the federal government, one from NWT government; one from the Yukon Territorial government) and three representatives of the Inuvialuit interests. Canada appoints the chair with approval by the Inuvialuit members. Each committee member serves three years in office and is eligible for re-appointment. A sub-committee of five; the chair, plus two Inuvialuit representatives and two "Canadian" do screening for each proposal. Other members may be added under special circumstances. The role of this committee is that they "shall determine if the development could have a significant negative environmental impact." (Canada 1985a: 18) If the members of this group feel incompetent to assess any proposals, they will then indicate to the government another authority that they feel is competent to assess and authorise the undertaking. Upon taking their decision they will come to one of three potential conclusions:

- a) the proposal will have no significant impact and can therefore proceed;
- b) the proposal could have significant impact and is therefore subject to review under the agreement; or
- c) the committee needs more information before proceeding. (Canada 1985a: 17)

All of their decisions are decided by majority vote. The final stage of the process is the decision. The committee's recommendations:

shall be transmitted to the government authority competent to authorize the development. That authority shall decide whether or not the development should proceed and, if so, on what terms and conditions, including mitigative and remedial measures. (Canada 1985a: 18)

At this point, either side (committee members or those who have proposed the development) may challenge the findings of the board. To formally undertake such a challenge, they must make formal presentation of such to an Arbitrator within 30 days. Neither side may abrogate the laws of Canada.

Just as with the illustration of the bowhead hunt, the ability to challenge decisions made by the Environmental Screening Committee (and the Environmental Impact Review Board) attests to the power gained by the Inuvialuit through the IFA. Control over economic development proposals may not be complete, or absolute, but power has come to the Inuvialuit to regulate and control essential elements in the development of their region.

### 5.8 Wildlife Committees: Ecological Tradition III

The objectives of committees and regulatory bodies concerned with wildlife management are:

a) to prevent damage to wildlife and its habitat and to avoid disruption of Inuvialuit harvesting activities by reason of development; and

b) if damage occurs, to restore wildlife and its habitat as far as is practicable to its original state and to compensate Inuvialuit hunters, trappers and fishermen for the loss of their subsistence or commercial harvesting opportunities." (Canada 1985a: 17)

In other sections wildlife harvesting and management is to be undertaken to "protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity through the application of conservation principles and practices." (Canada 1985a: 25) It must be understood, however, that use of resources is broadly defined. Thoughts are not only directed to preservation and protection, but to husbandry, harvesting and development of all types of renewable resources, hence management of wildlife resources falls under the interest of the Inuvialuit Game Council and Hunters and Trappers Committees from each of the six communities. Through their workings, building upon long years of experience in the local environment, come the recommended harvesting schedules, numbers and quotas. For example:

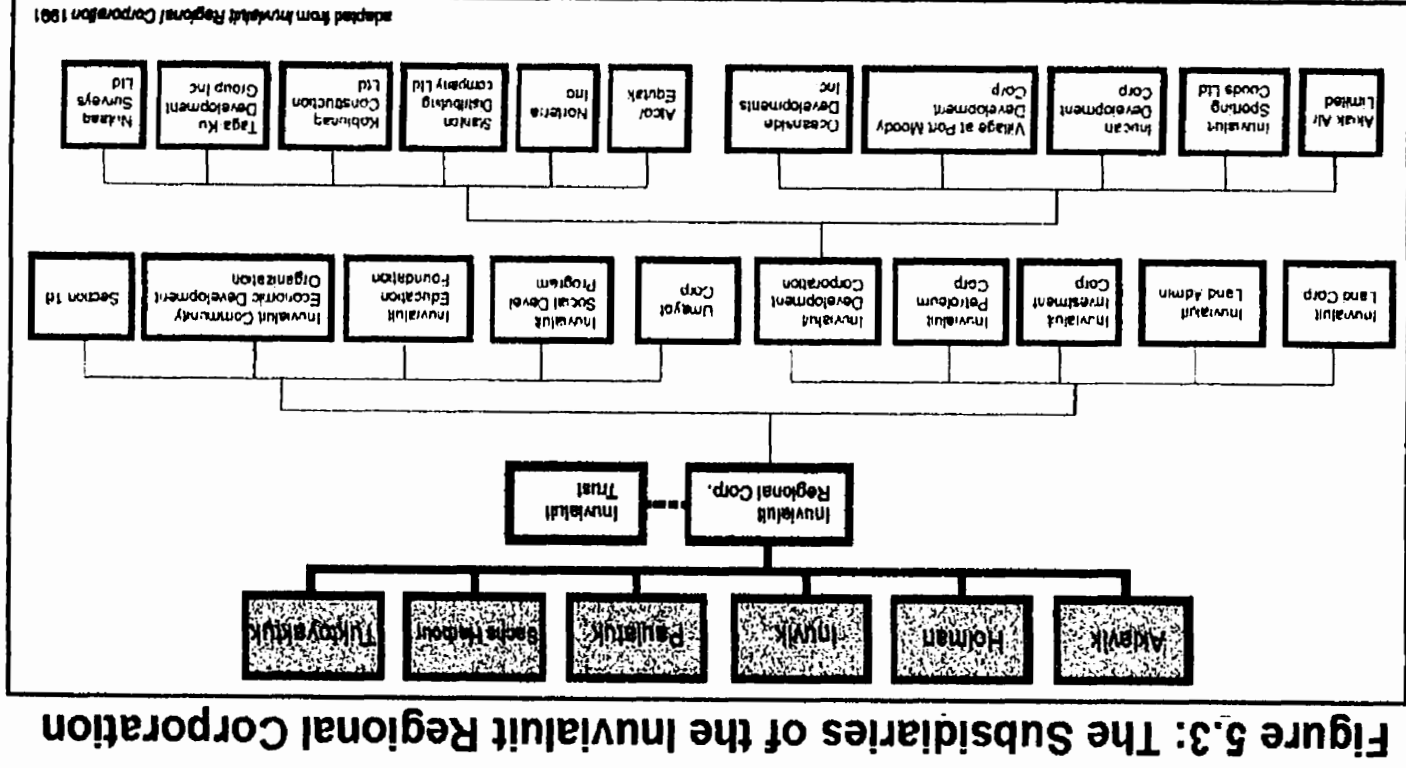
the Study's primary objective is to gather and maintain a permanent continuous long-term record of Inuvialuit subsistence harvest levels, within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (IRS). This information provides a basis for sound rational wildlife management, calculating a wildlife compensation regime that may be required as a result of development within the IRS, and determining Inuvialuit subsistence wildlife usage and requirements. Wildlife management and environmental impact assessment is accomplished by various bodies also established pursuant to the IFA. (Fabijan 1991: 1)

Not all decisions about quotas, harvest schedules or trap lines are met with complete consensus, Isaak (1996: 88) observes that at Shingle Point:

The older generation was deeply annoyed by the spectre of quotas being placed on fish and game harvests. The closing of one particular arctic char fishery was a definite sore spot. During conversations with people about this closure, younger people tended to disagree with their elders over the necessity to close certain areas, or set quotas. The older people felt that they had been betrayed because their understanding of the IFA was that it would prevent governments from imposing quotas on wildlife harvest for subsistence purposes, and now the directors of the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) have attempted to set limits.

### **5.9 Economic Development: The Corporate Structure**

At the apex of the economic hierarchy of the IFA are six northern communities that form the region and its constituency (Figure 5.3). Every person enrolled at the



Agreement's inception, or added to the rolls since, holds "shares" in these communities. In theory, the IFA represents a 'bottom-up' economic structure. Eligibility is determined by the following:

A beneficiary of the IFA must be a Canadian citizen and;

1. On the official voters list used for approving the Final Agreement; or

2. Of Inuvialuit ancestry and,  
Born in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) or Inuvik, or

A resident of the ISR or Inuvik for a total of least ten years, or

If under ten years of age, ordinarily residents in the ISR or Inuvik.

A person may also be eligible if he or she:

3. Has Inuvialuit ancestry and is accepted by an Inuvialuit community corporation as a member; or,

4. Is an adopted child of a beneficiary.

Descendants of beneficiaries are also eligible to participate in the Settlement (IDC 2000: about.html)

Communities represent Inuvialuit heritage and protect and advance their financial interests through subsidiaries such as the Inuvialuit Trust, Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) and Inuvialuit Investment Corporation (IIC). Together, these entities, and many more, comprise "The Inuvialuit Corporate Group" which, in the words of the IDC (2000: about.html), continues to:

Focus upon employment, education, training and business development for beneficiaries.



Initiate programs to promote language, culture and traditional practices.  
Ensure government compliance with the claims provisions by instituting formal mechanisms.  
Communicate with and take direction from the beneficiaries through the community corporations.  
Preserve the land claims capital by investing wisely for the benefit of future generations of Inuvialuit.

The IFA determined the corporate structure that evolved into the "Inuvialuit Corporate Group". Objectives from the IFA determined the form that this "Group" would take. These objectives were stated (Canada 1985a: 32) as:

- a) full Inuvialuit participation in the Northern Canadian economy
- b) Inuvialuit integration into Canadian society through development of an adequate level of economic self-reliance and solid economic base.

Economic objectives are the keystone of the IFA. They are framed as the basis from which other benefits accruing from the agreement will stem. Therefore, benefits will flow from the corporate structure determined by the Agreement. Benefits may be monetary. For example in 1994, the Corporate Group provided:

each Inuvialuit elder (age 50 and over) with a payment of \$500 three times year. In 1994 the number of payments was increased from two to three times a year. These financial considerations are made in recognition of the elders' contribution to the IFA. It was through their traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing and trapping that the foundation was laid for the land claim. Upon annual review of the performance

by the Inuvialuit Corporate Group, dividends are paid out to beneficiaries in years of profitability. In December 1994, a general distribution of dividends in the amount of \$500 to each enrolled beneficiaries over the age of eighteen was declared. (IDC 2000: ourmiss.html)

While in 1999 for example:

Inuvik(May 07/99) - Adult Inuvialuit beneficiaries get to share in recent Inuvialuit Regional Corporation success after a board report that consolidated profit from all IRC companies last year was \$7.97 million. The 2979 eligible beneficiaries are set to receive \$401.51 each in mid-May -- their share of the \$1,196,100 the IRC will distribute (Korstrom 1999).

The IRC is reflective of a structure of the "modern" world and would not be out of place in the boardrooms of Fleet, Wall or Bay Street. To that end, the IRC attempts to integrate Inuvialuit business dealings into the contemporary economic paradigm which will turn profits both for corporate re-investment and to disseminate among the Agreement's beneficiaries. It undertakes this through its major investment 'arm', the IDC. The mission of the IDC is to fulfil the business goal of the IFA. As is stated on their web page (IDC 2000: ourmiss.html):

To enable the Inuvialuit equal and meaningful participation in the western Arctic, Circumpolar, and national economies and societies. To achieve this goal IDC will continue to build and protect a diversified asset base, generate financial

returns, create employment, and increase skills and development for the Inuvialuit.

The IDC operates over 30 subsidiary enterprises in eight business sectors; technology and communications, health and hospital services, environmental services and project management, property management, manufacturing, transportation, northern services and real estate development (Northern Transportation Company Limited 2000: ide.html). How potential dividends are disseminated or reinvested; how economic decisions are made; by whom; and how shareholders and sub-corporations are structured are all concerns of the IDC and, of course, vary according to any one fiscal year's bottom line. Over the last decade the economic performance of the IDC has varied but generally a spirit of optimism seems more common than not. In reviewing 1996, for example, Dennie Lennie, Chairman of the Board of Directors stated (IDC 2000: chair.html) that:

1996 was a successful year for the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC). The Company generated the largest profit this decade, achieved record Inuvialuit employment, launched five new human resource, training and office technology plans. IDC reported a positive cash flow in 1996. The health of the balance sheet was the best in the company's history; debts were lowered, assets and liquidity increased. Of IDC's more than 30 companies and joint ventures, all but the Vancouver properties and Inuvialuit Sporting Goods Limited, produced positive results

for the year. IDC's program to divest under-performing assets acquired in the 1980's proceeded in 1996, the result being that five businesses were sold or dissolved.

Another arm of the IRC's Corporate Group is the Inuvialuit Investment Corp Inuvialuit Investment Corporation (IIC) which:

is responsible for establishing and managing a conservative and diverse portfolio to provide the best rates of return on the land claims capital. It has received a major portion (80%) for investments to benefit the future generations of Inuvialuit. IIC practices a fundamental approach towards the selection of investments. They are selected to provide reasonable levels of cash income as well as for increasing their value over time. The emphasis is on the total rate of return over the long-term. To ensure that the investments get the best rate of return and are protected from regional and domestic economic downturns, IIC has diversified nationally and globally as well as by asset class. IIC recognizes that businesses built on local markets can be successful and profitable. However, in the current market conditions, they do not provide the most secure and best cash and interest rates of return to meet IIC's mandate. (IDC 2000: iic.html).

While the IDC's portfolio emphasises employment and has a northern 'flavour', the IIC reaches much further afield in its search for attractive investment opportunities; hence greater profit-making than possible in the ISR.

The relationship between the six communities and the IGC and the IRC is as follows: the Hunters and Trappers

Associations in each community select the head of the IGC. The head consults with the hunters and trappers and informs them of the activities of the five agencies (Environmental Impact Screening Committee, Environmental Review Board, Wildlife Management Council, Fisheries Joint Management Committee and Wildlife Management Advisory Council). Members of these six Hunters and Trappers Associations serve on these councils while others are involved in the fieldwork conducted by these groups. For example, the recording of wildlife and fish harvesting and the preparation of land-use maps.

#### **5.10 The Reality of the IFA: How It has Worked**

The Inuvialuit who negotiated and ultimately signed the IFA could not foresee the future. The Inuvialuit had obvious difficulty in foreseeing the future and could not have anticipated the day-to-day operation of the Agreement. At the time the Agreement was signed, their aim was to do the best they could for the Inuvialuit people. As Ponting (1986b: 206) observes

despite the considerable intelligence, legal expertise, and forethought that go into negotiating such agreements of treaties, implementation problems will always arise. In

practice, those problems take the agreement in directions different from those anticipated by the signatories.

However, there must be some means to assess and evaluate the adaptations made in the operation of the IFA, despite that, such criteria must necessarily be generated *a priori*. To that end Ponting (1986b: 207-208) has formulated such a means of assessment. It involves four criteria:

1. adequacy and security of the resource base.
2. whether it permits individuals a viable choice of pursuing traditional or contemporary occupations.
3. adequate provisions for representation and participation in decision-making bodies having jurisdictions over economic development matters.
4. the ability to raise capital.

Stemming from Ponting's observations, it becomes obvious that in order to assess the working of the IFA the region's resource base, the traditions of the Inuvialuit people, decision-making processes within the IFA and issues concerned with capital must be examined.

#### **5.10.1 The Resource Base**

The exploitation of the resource base of the NWT may be a key to its future development. As Bone (1992) observes:

The economic strength of the North lies in its resource base: forestry, minerals, oil and gas, and hydroelectric power. Each has been developed to satisfy a demand from outside the North. The occurrence of these resources varies across the North, and the pattern of development reflects this variation.

However, the resource base of the ISR is not a broad one. Forests do not thrive in the Arctic, nor is hydroelectric power generated in the area. Within the region are gravel and sand deposits and some stone quarries (National Resources Canada 2000: [tbltot.htm](#)) but presently no metals or diamonds (as in other areas of the NWT) are mined. What exists are vast oil and gas reserves (both proven and potential) and wildlife. This lack of a variety of natural resources has had an affect on the potential profitability of financial 'arms' of the IFA. They have had to extend their interests beyond the borders of the IRC in order to try and meet their mandate to "enable the Inuvialuit equal and meaningful participation in the western Arctic, Circumpolar and national economies and societies".

Despite the paucity of resources in the IRC, there are significant resources within the region that are harvested. Of these, fossil fuels are important. Bone (1996) has observed that in the future, these may be the single most influential aspect of northern development, "Canada's

greatest potential for future sources of oil and gas is found in the Arctic basins, particularly the Mackenzie Basin (123)". While fossil fuels have comprised an approximate 40% portion of the NWT's mineral production of the last five years, none comes from the ISR (Table 5.2). Oil exploration in the Beaufort Sea region has languished since 1990 (Bone 1996). Yet the potential of petroleum development in the ISR is great and could bring enormous wealth to the Inuvialuit through the IRC. As Chase (1999), in *The Globe and Mail*, wrote

The North represents the last untapped frontier for natural gas in the country. The National Energy Board estimates there are nearly 70 trillion cubic feet of undiscovered but marketable gas between the 60<sup>th</sup> parallel and the Beaufort Sea, and another 80 trillion cubic feet in the Arctic islands.

Of even greater potential impact to the northwestern Arctic would be

An \$8-billion plan for a pipeline that would ship Arctic natural gas from the Beaufort Sea area and Northwest Territories to southern markets...It would ship gas eastward [ed note: from the Alaska-Prudhoe Bay area] to the Mackenzie Delta where it would head south, perhaps as far as Alberta's northern border. It's at the Mackenzie Delta where the pipeline could also start taking on gas produced in Canada. (Chase 1999)

Facets of the IFA deal with the regulation and control of oil and gas exploration and exploitation as outlined



above. The means and methods of controlling access to and exploitation of land and its resources are outline in sections 5.6 (page 195) and 5.7 (page 197) above, but the IGC, and more specifically the co-management committees that were created to "look after the environment and wildlife in the ISR" (Bone 1996: 180) exert Inuvialuit control over industrial developments. While it would seem that co-management processes are effective, from the perspective of the Inuvialuit, they have garnered criticism from one notable source, the oil and gas industry.

**Table 5.2: Value of Mineral Production of the NWT 1977 - 1998 - Dollars**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Metals*</b>	<b>All Minerals**</b>
1977		292,916
1979		439,913
1981		398,255
1983		594,879
1985		864,657
1987		870,494
1989		1,149,286
1991		703,178
1993		584,866
1995	530,745	766,293
1996	510,369	780,585
1997	543,682	798,793
1998	348,531	579,338

Source: Paquette 1999: tb1nm.htm

\*includes gold, silver, lead and zinc

\*\* includes metals, non-metals, structurals and fuels

Two examples of the environmental screening process are discussed in Bone (1996). In one Esso's Isserk I-15 drilling program was successfully undertaken while in the other, Gulf's Kulluk drilling program, the plan to build four wells in an ice transition zone was rejected on three grounds.

The Board rejected the Kulluk drilling project on three grounds. The first factor was the potential damage to the marine environment and wildlife from a major oil spill. The second factor was the difficulty of containing a spill in the ice transition zone. Lastly, the Board felt that the issues of liability and the state of preparedness of the company and government for an oil spill clean-up were grossly inadequate.

Both Bone (1996) and Keeping (1989) observe that the committee process is one that can delay and even reject the search for and exploitation of resources in the ISR. While the perspective of oil companies (Keeping 1989) may be that these reviews can unduly delay necessary, potentially profitable and beneficial development projects within the region, Bone's observation that "such a cost is a small price to ensure that the cultural base of the Inuvialuit society remains well and strong" (1996: 187), should probably be given precedence.

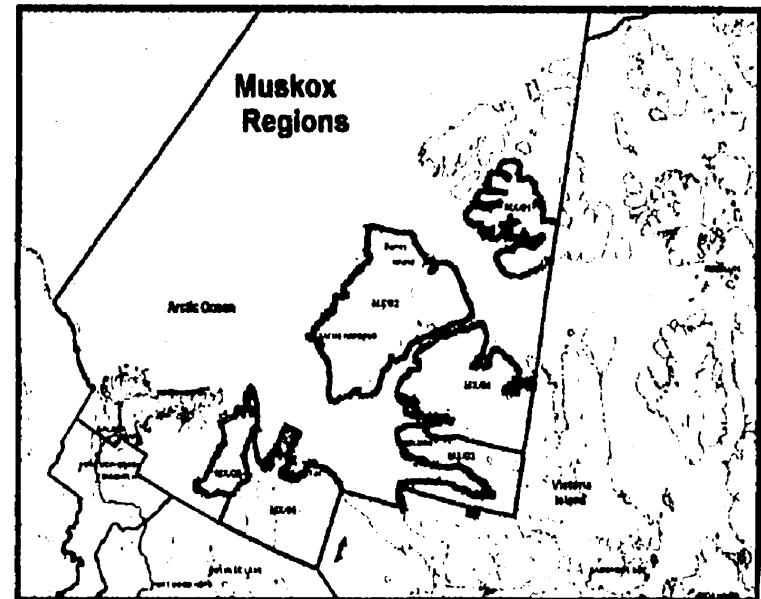
Other resources, apart from oil and gas, of the ISR are found more evenly spread throughout the area. These are

the native wildlife. These resources are part of the heritage of the Inuvialuit. Their harvest serves not only to provide a valuable contemporary commodity but as an important link to the past and to the future preservation of Inuvialuit culture.

#### **5.10.2 Traditions**

The Inuvialuit have long used the marine and terrestrial wildlife of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Figure 5.4). The value of this pursuit has been recognised as integral to the economic well being of the people of the area. Wildlife allows the hunter and the consumer to replace 'store-bought' foodstuffs with 'country foods' (Usher 1998: Isaak 1996: Bone 1992). Therefore, it may be seen as a capital producing activity comparable to wage employment, or at least complementary to such. Yet, along with its economic value, hunting, fishing, gathering and trapping fundamentally contributes to the preservation and promotion of Inuvialuit culture. The land and wildlife are the heritage of the people, a link to specific Inuvialuit ways of doing things. The recognition of this important role, and its contributory nature to the economy of the

**Figure 5.4: Selected Wildlife of the Mackenzie Delta Region**



Source: GNWT 2000. map.htm

Inuvialuit Settlement Region fostered the creation of Hunter and Trapper Committees described and discussed previously and satisfies Ponting's criterion of permitting "individuals a viable choice of pursuing traditional occupations".

#### **5.10.3 Decision-making**

The Inuvialuit have become involved with regional decision-making with the operation of committees conducted through channels and means created by the IFA (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3). Financial decisions are channelled through the IDC, IIC and other land and resource-based subsidiaries (Inuvialuit Land Administration, Inuvialuit Land Corporation and Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation for example) while environmental and wildlife matters are funnelled through the IGCs. When matters "overlap" a process exists whereby an environmental impact assessment is undertaken (Bone 1996).

Further, Isaak (1996: 89) observed that many see alternative means of investing Inuvialuit money for the future were discussed:

There were a couple of very specific proposals for altering the current arrangement, or

alternative ways of investing put forward by some people. One of the respondents was quite adamant in the belief that individuals should have the option of being paid out their portion of any moneys being managed by the IDC in order to allow the individual to manage the money themselves.

Another person had a very specific idea for investing money. This person suggested that money should be invested in the North rather than everywhere else, and proposed that one of the things to invest in would be an Inuvialuit co-op grocery store in each of the six communities.

The decision-making process seems to be functioning as it was intended. Financially, subsidiaries are managing money adequately and wildlife management achievements seem to be ensuring a respect and appreciation for the natural environment. As R. Gruben, a past chair of the IDC, is reported to have said..."By any standards the Inuvialuit are recognised as having a successful development corporation" (Gruben, quoted in Connelly 1992: 4).

While the profits presently being returned by the investment subsidiaries of the Corporate Group may seem impressive, the future of the Inuvialuit may be more closely linked to decision made by wildlife management committees. As Bone (1996: 177) states:

The powers gained by the Inuvialuit over the environment and wildlife management may well prove to be more significant to the Inuvialuit in the long run than their business accomplishments. For certain, the new environmental impact assessment process has fundamentally altered the

decision-making system of the Western Arctic. Equally important, it has ensured a future for the Inuvialuit culture and harvesting economy.

Regardless of the future importance of either the financial or environmental management 'arms' of the IFA, the agreement has created a dual organization - one responsible for the land and the other for the market economy. Perhaps the Inuvialuit created an organizational environment that provides adequate provision for representation and participation in these two decision-making bodies.

#### **5.10.4 Capital**

In the realm of "capital accumulation", the original intent of the organizational and directional structure imposed by the IFA may have undergone significant change. Results, however, seem beneficial to the Inuvialuit nation, communities, and individual shareholders of the region.

The one obvious area where anticipation of development had not been adequately foreseen was in the corporate structuring of the IRC's financial and real estate arms (Figure 5.3). The nature of these subsidiaries now signals the movement of the Inuvialuit into areas of finance and investment yet uncharted by other Aboriginal Canadian

groups. They have forged ahead and broken new ground when compared to other Aboriginal Development Corporations. In 1981, the main goals of the IDC, were stated:

The long range goal of the IDC is to bring the Inuvialuit into the process of economic development in the Western Arctic Region and to bring them the benefits of such development [further, it should encourage]...business ventures that reflect the needs and values of the Inuvialuit. (Osgood 1981b: 14)

At that time the IDC had just purchased the Inuvik Taxi Company, had a musk oxen meat management program, and was negotiating for the purchase of Aklak Air and a local fisheries business. Since then the IDC's goals and objectives have changed. An understanding has emerged that Aboriginal Development Corporations will need to become major investors, suppliers, consumers and joint venture partners in the global market place. (Connelly 1992: 1) To that end,

There is a shift in investment strategies of Aboriginal Development Corporations which is occurring...as we move into the 21st century, Aboriginal Development Corporation's investments will shift to regional, national, and international markets and into wealth creation and value added higher technology, manufacturing, extraction and renewable resources production<sup>24</sup> [because] Business built on the local market, the market within the settlement can be good businesses. They provide local employment, training, services and a valued experience base. However, their return when measured in terms of the required return is not significant. Basic



economics says that a small community in a global market place can only provide a fraction of the returns required to provide a self sufficient standard of living to the community. To do so the businesses must expand into a market many times larger than their home market. (Connelly 1992: 13-16)

The IDC has "substantial operations in several areas: the Baffin, The Keewatin, Yellowknife, Edmonton, Lethbridge, Calgary, Vancouver, Nanaimo, Kelowna, Surrey, New Westminster, Port Moody, Estevan and Whitehorse (Connelly 1992: 7). Also included are 19 companies and 15 separate real estate holdings. Clearly the IDC has grown to bear little resemblance to itself since its inception.

While traditional, even conservative investments have caused the IDC's profile to expand, corporate officers are looking at new opportunities for the future. One of them involves brokering other's investments through an International Investment Fund. Connelly mentions a proposed International Investment Fund "to meet the requirements of Aboriginal groups for preservation of capital and the generation of secure income for future generations." (Connelly 1992: 9) The future, as R. Gruben confidently predicts, would be rosy for "At the end of the day, they'll all deal with us" (quoted in Greenwood 1993: 22). Patterns of investment have evolved in a rather fascinating manner.

Administrators of financial subsidiaries of the IRC have adapted in unforeseen manners, investing in areas far from the settlement region. While returns from their investments may eventually accrue to the region, as yet, they have not produced large-scale development in the western Arctic. Profits have flowed back to the Mackenzie Delta but they have not created the infrastructure necessary for industrial or modern economic take-off. Instead, the IRC's corporations have taken money from the south and re-invested in some rather small-scale northern projects and in larger southern investments.

Perhaps the key lies not in recognizing the drawbacks and deficiencies in the manner in which the IRC and its financial subsidiaries have evolved, but in the recognition of the nature of the economic *cum* social/cultural model employed by those who drew-up the original document. Perhaps expectations were flawed from the beginning, perhaps the world as it was seen by the negotiators of the IFA was not as straight-forward as was perceived, perhaps the world of investment and economic opportunity was changing as the Agreement was negotiated?

A modern Agreement was negotiated for a post-modern world. It was inevitable that conditions of economic

prosperity and success would change from the inception of the first comprehensive land claim agreement. That these changes in the "world economic climate" have facilitated the Inuvialuit with the "ability to raise capital", and therefore to garner the control of more power, attests to the adaptability, ingenuity and abilities of the directors of the IRC's financial corporations. As with elements of the natural environment and culture, the IFA allows power to devolve to a local level.

#### **5.11 Evaluation/Conclusion**

The IFA is a document formulated, negotiated and signed under a modernistic paradigm. It attempts to advance solutions that will allow the Inuvialuit to live *in situ*, yet integrate their northern homeland into the south. The result may be that both northern homeland and southern hinterland come to co-exist and that power devolves to the north where people come to control more of their everyday lives. While formative reasons for its original negotiation may have differed on either side of the negotiating table, the fact is that the document was signed and thereby representatives of Ottawa "lost" power and the

Inuvialuit "gained". To assess whether or not the IFA is a successful document, or whether it has brought success to the Inuvialuit is not an easy task for what would be a successful result? Is Inuvialuit cultural maintenance enough? Would economic stimulation and increasing incomes prove satisfactory? Is the present and future facilitation of exploitative northern development a measure of success? Clearly the IDC has expanded its sphere of influence and clearly the investments they have made represent both financial successes and failures. Culturally, however, results are much more difficult to assess and perhaps will never be apparent but presently there seems to be guarded optimism among those who administer and direct the funds and investments of Inuvialuit corporations and companies. They see that their efforts have borne fruit, they seem to feel that the IFA has facilitated the diversity necessary to ensure cultural existence and rising economic status. Power that has come to the north is clearly part of maintaining and promoting the local culture but also is part of the reinforcement of culture necessary for its maintenance and promotion; the control of power may foster pride in place. Inuvialuit hopes for the future, while

perhaps optimistic, must be considered as a measure of the success of the Final Agreement.

Given the nature of the IFA and its overwhelming emphasis on a particular form of solution to the inherent problems of northern Natives living in their homeland, it would seem that the Inuvialuit people have been co-opted into joining in southern ways and means of social/economic existence. Perhaps they have joined the south in facilitating the creation of a resource frontier in a northern environment? Can Inuvialuit traditions survive an onslaught of northern development, even with the committees, decision-making structures and flow of power northward as created by the IFA? It seems unlikely that the needs of few northern Canadians can remain impediments for southerners' perceived needs. Yet, perhaps the manner in which the IFA has evolved will be crucial? Perhaps the manner in which the Inuvialuit have gained power over their own region is the key to the region's development. Investment in the south, profits from southern investments flowing North for dissemination among Native northerners, the rise of clean industrial development, an eye for protection and preservation both to and of the natural environment, care and attention for Inuvialuit traditions,

and promotion of inter-cultural tolerance and understanding all may herald the dawn of a new age of Northern development, one that sees the flow of power not always be from south to north but instead may find a "middle ground" which will ensure the best of both worlds. Perhaps the affects of overt, haphazard Canadian power have been tempered.

## 5.12 Notes

1. The IFA has had an influence on other agreements, for example on the Gwich'in (1992), Sahtu (1993), Nunavut (1993) and Yukon Umbrella (1993) Agreements (Bone 2000: 458).
2. The development of disadvantages among Natives in the Canadian context has been explored by many, working both contemporarily and historically. See the works of Zaslow (1971), Berger (1977), Coates (1985), Ponting (1986), Usher (1987), Weick (1988), Coates and Morrisison (1992), Usher, Tough and Galois (1992), and Bone (1992).
3. Those of a "liberal" perspective have long dominated Work concerning the theoretical interpretation of Canada's North, often with a distinct eye for pragmatic applications. Recently, however, inroads to an interpretation of the North has come from the "radical" (economics/geography) or "conflict" (sociology) perspective -- usually undertaken by those who see their work as part of the political economy school.
4. It was the Berger Report (Berger 1977) which initially brought the plight of Native Northerners into southern living rooms. Modern communications, travel and greater amounts of contact have all recently added to the knowledge, and perhaps empathy that southerners are much more aware of northern issues, problems and dilemmas than they once were and are much more likely to pressure southern politicians for solutions.
5. The 1969 White Paper may be seen to represent the high water mark of Trudeauian liberalism in its Canadian context (Ponting 1986). Its "cutting loose" of the Natives from the traditional, paternalistic clutches of the federal government may be seen to have precipitated the "not-so-quiet" revolution that was to follow. To many it seemed a wake-up call for Native activism.
6. Comprehensive land claims are explained and outlined in Canada (1985b, 1986, 1987b).
7. Perhaps the most fruitful analytical framework provided by the heartland-hinterland thesis wherein Northern Native viewpoints [homeland] are contrasted and compared to that

of Southern Canadian [hinterland] views. This thesis stems from the early work of economic historians (Innis 1930) and political economists (Watkins 1963) in Canada. In its Northern context see Usher (1987) and Bone (1996).

8. "The geographer's eye...place and space appreciation". Such an approach has not always been in geographical "favour". Recently, however, many are returning to the "traditional" fold that may involve a blending of both physical and human aspects through an examination of "region" as a unifying concept. Often called "new" or post-modern geography, this has gained many adherents within the last decade.

9. These three traditions of geography have long been seen as signposts guiding geographical inquiry. Through many introductory texts the approach has been tacitly planted and nurtured within the discipline.

10. Nodes of development; heartland-hinterland; core-periphery; growth poles have all been seen as panaceas for the problems of un/under development in non/developing regions. See McCann (1987) for Canadian aspects of these approaches.

11. While the amount of money dedicated to social development may seem handsome, it can be eroded quickly and easily given the many uses to which it must be put. See CARC (1985).

12. Many feel that comprehensive agreements go a long way to forming a new social relationship between Native Northerners, non-native Northerners and Southerners. See Ponting (1986a), Usher, Tough and Galois (1992).

13. See Usher and Bankes (1986), Ross and Usher (1986) and Canada (1985b), 1986) all of which maintain that land and its husbandry remain essential to Inuit/Indian cultural survival.



## Chapter Six Conclusion

### **6.1 The Expression of Power on the Western Canadian Landscape**

The role of power, especially state power, is critical for understanding the formation (and reformation) of regional landscapes. This dissertation presents an alternative approach to regional geography by emphasizing 'power', especially power relationships between minorities and the state. The introduction of power into regional geography not only results in a more meaningful type of regional geography but, by addressing minority/majority power relations, it also provides a more balanced interpretation of historic events leading to the formation of regional landscapes. The contribution of this thesis to the field of geography lies in its call for a revitalized regional geography. Further, when relations are viewed through a reinvigorated regional geography based on the ebb and flow of economic and political power and their effects on western Canadian landscapes, they do not suffer the same, tired interpretations of Canada's "glorious"

expansion. Therefore, by viewing western Canada as a regional geographer enlightened by a new approach, a more complete rendering of the full repercussions of western and northern region's relationships with Canada is gained.

Landscapes rarely lie<sup>1</sup> and through the exploration of changes upon them, we gain insight to the truth of the past, even though that same past may reveal aspects of Canadianization that are rather unsavoury. To explore Canada's history and geography is not enough. To blend these two, with an eye to each, and with an interest in the effects of power on the land will bring fresh results. Such results represent my proposal for an alternative approach to regional geography.

The observation of Canada's past through three separate, distinct epochs and places illustrates profound changes produced on Canadian landscapes. It also shows the underlying paradoxes and contradictions inherent in Canadian nation building. While seemingly unrelated, the time/place vignettes presented here reveal aspects of colonialism, the imposition of modernism, and ultimately, the re-assertion of place. Each vignette also shows the effects of different, yet related, "paradigmatic shifts" on the landscapes of western Canada.

From prehistoric times, power was played out on the natural landscapes of western North America by indigenous peoples who lived in a manner seemingly inexplicable to Europeans. Here life remained influenced by the direct ties between people and place. The cultural ecology of North America of more than 500 years ago was one where a holistic view of land was necessary for subsistence lifestyles. Integrated aspects of culture evolved to create techniques of living and localized land uses that fit with native resources and sites. People controlled their own means of survival and, therefore, exercised power of their own design on the landscape. The result of their actions was the creation of a region that was recognized as home, provided a way of life and was defended from those who sought to alter it. In that context, aboriginal North Americans had a well articulated sense of place.

Europeans arrived on the North American landscape of 500 years ago with a different sense of how power plays out on the land. In order to facilitate successful colonization, they began to apply different templates of land ownership and extinguish traditional land uses and boundaries. The sense of place developed by indigenous groups was undermined. Western lands were divided,

conquered and distributed to those who would impose eastern Canadian values and power. Yet, by early in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, 19<sup>th</sup> Century colonisers of the west became alienated themselves. The promise of an equal share in the Canadian dream was not to be realized. Theirs was not to be equals in the exercise of Canadian power. Dispatched as emissaries of Canada, they, during the debates leading to provincehood, realized that they had been used as agents, as a means to an end. Power over their homeland was withheld from westerners; they became second-class citizens of the country regardless of whether they were of Aboriginal or of European or mixed ancestry. Western alienation and dissatisfaction with Canada became the norm.

While the twentieth century proceeded, marginalized Canadian groups became further removed from traditional attachments to place and further removed from decision-making processes, hence suffered a further loss of power. Yet, by century's end, new forms of legal land agreements between indigenous nations and Canadian federal authorities, were negotiated, signed and sanctioned by legislative and judicial bodies. Power, as applied to land, hence traditional places, began to devolve back to those living *in situ*.

This work begins the process of understanding how Canada's colonial project failed to extinguish indigenous nationhood and how the project has gone on to foster a new, deeper sense of place in Canadian political, economic and social decision-making processes. Changes are exemplified by the emergence of a new, bottom-up political and cultural organization in one of the focal regions, the northwestern Northwest Territories.

Changes have been and are currently in progress in the regional evolution of Canada. While Quebec sovereignty remains positioned atop the publicity heap, regional evolution has been widespread in western and northern reaches of the country. There, changes have occurred that signal a greater appreciation and understanding of and by Canadians of the function region plays in their sense of self and sense of nation. Place has come to matter.

## **6.2 Power, Place and Space in the Study of Geography**

In 1990, Wynn (18) provided both justification and a plea for power as a prime influence on the landscape

More attention is also due to questions of power...and of the state and all its works versus local life. These issues are fundamental to understand the dynamics of communities and

places. Insofar as they point to questions about the consolidation of hegemony they are likely to lead into exploration of the channels through which authority was deployed, resisted, and accepted.

This work has argued that a revitalized regional geography can, and should, fulfil Wynn's hopes. It can point to "questions of hegemony" and can "explore channels" that indicate the manner in which authority was, and continues to be, deployed.

Geography, during the 1990s developed new emphases on context, resistance, localism, regionalization processes, national self-determination, ethnic pride and, therefore, on place. In such a manner, Geography has begun to shed light on Wallerstein's previously cited (see page 12) "dramatically different internal socio-economic profiles and distinctive politics" (1979: 53). In this dissertation, elements contributing to these "profiles" have been applied by emphasizing power as a formative agent in their development. Clearly, changes in the three Canadian (and pre-Canadian) landscapes discussed here occurred because of different forces. Initially, these changes came about because of the power of colonizing Europeans and their paternalistic treatment of indigenous peoples. Later, such power led to the Metis diaspora. Later still, the force of

Canadian power was brought to bear on Canada's North-West. These eras, and the specific events that characterised them, illustrate both the force and world-view of modernism and aspects of the processes of globalization and internationalism<sup>2</sup> that still typify aspects of the region. They also illustrate the emergence and dominance of Wallerstein's capitalist world economy but they do not fully account for the contemporary 'path of global disorder' he mentions in 1996. From an analysis that stops short of featuring state power as formative in the creation of region, comes the viewpoint that human settlements, landscapes that they exist upon and the regions that are created, can be viewed as formal, geometric entities, as space. While such an approach shows how power was exerted to ensure the continued existence of modernist space, it lacks the focus to illustrate, in detail, how authority was deployed, resisted and accepted. In short, it fails to show how, despite the socio-economic forces acting against it; a sense of place emerged in Saskatchewan and Alberta *circa* 1905 and in the Mackenzie Delta of the Northwest Territories, *circa* 1990.

Challenges to Ottawa's power over western Canadian landscapes arose. By the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century,

the rise of aboriginal power resulted in comprehensive land claims agreements. In 1984, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement meant that Canada no longer had absolute control over that landscape. The compartmentalization and strict policies of land division and tenure, the hallmark of early eras of modernist landscape power, were challenged<sup>3</sup>. One focus of this work has been on one successful challenge to the hegemony of landscape as space, the IFA. The concept entailed in this Agreement illustrates the idea that regions can (and do) both reflect and actively promote the role of place in the human experience. With the active rejection of regions as spaces comes the idea of regions as places; as homelands for people and as expression of their topophilic relationships to the land. In doing so, this thesis has suggested a new means of addressing McCann's observation of the dynamics of rural-urban relationships in the Canadian context (see pages 14-15).

The processes through which regional geography evolved has made its means and methods attuned to contemporary approaches. Such processes have also forced recognition of the role that a regional approach, with an emphasis on power, may contribute to understanding contemporary problems that exist beyond the academic discipline of



Geography. This thesis has clarified Regional Geography's focus to such a degree that it can make greater contributions to understanding the current state of world affairs. It has done this through pinpointing state power as a formative agent in the creation of contemporary problems, especially those concerning processes and patterns of marginalized people and the many flashpoints of horrendous contemporary ethnic conflict. Issues of ethnic cleansing, irredentism and forced migration make the study of place essential. Therefore, questions addressed by a new Regional Geography focused on power are not just about land ownership, land division and provincial creation but can and should be adapted and applied to problems steeped in the use of power to subjugate and assimilate minorities. In short, Regional Geography may help find a way through the complexities of ethnic regions, identifiable places and enclaves and the wars raging around and inside them. Regional Geography can provide a tool set to help unify people through coping with their diverse views of landscapes and by establishing a new found appreciation of the necessity of place.

The 'place' of regional geography within the broader milieu of Geography has been debated many times (Hartshore

1939; Sauer 1963; Ley and Samuels 1978; Hart 1982, Gregory 1989; Aberley 1993 to re-cite but a few) and the plethora of approaches, methods and personalities brought to, applied and conducting research in the subdiscipline could hardly be seen as a unifying factor. Yet the focal point of regional geography, place, should serve as a focus for the entire discipline. When geographers can maintain their ties to place and can come to understand and explain the complexities of physical features, human patterns and processes, and topophilic feelings, they can contribute to a deeper understanding of the development of landscapes and to a more sophisticated appreciation of the human condition. Only with their 'feet on the ground' can geographers effectively do geography.

In conclusion, this revitalized regional geography more effectively emerges in the middle ground among natural sciences (physical geography), social sciences (social geography) and the humanities (cultural geography). To that end, regional geography more meaningfully stands both as metaphor, "where geography's fields meet", and as template, "here's how we do geography", for the discipline as a whole. Such a regional geography can more powerfully serve as the core of the geographer's understanding of any

distinguishable part of the world for through it we may  
come to understand how space becomes place.

### 6.3 NOTES

1. While debatable, unless a concerted effort has been made to put forth, hide or obliterate aspects of the past for any purposes (for example Disneyland, reconstructed battlefields, theme parks, and palaces) landscapes are exceptionally difficult and expensive to manipulate. This work has focused on those that do not lie.

2. Fukiyama's "end of history" (Fukuyama 1989, 1990) and George Bush's "New World order" that emerged with the fall of the U.S.S.R.. Globalization of economy and internationalism attempts to extinguish regions and regional movements in order to facilitate the flow of capital and labour. But it seems that aspects of localism do not go away, from Quebec to Rwanda; East Timor to Kosovo, the frustration of folk boil over into open bloodshed and conflict. It remains a paradox of whether nationalism and regionalism are "good" or "bad" human forces. Within geography these issues have been examined by Soja (1989) and Harvey (1989)

3. The regional approach may be seen as radical. From the 1960s to the present many marginalized movements have sought in the region a means of rebuilding or reinhabiting place (Berg 1978; Lopez 1989; Aberly 1993). More extreme movements in eco-terrorism and radical environmentalism have sought the region as an alternative, too. While extreme, virtually all share much of the same philosophical underpinnings and a grassroots approach that is consistent with regionalism and the empowerment of marginalized groups.

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